

BUSINESS TRAVEL, HOTELS, AND ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY

An exploration of business travellers'
environment-related practices at the travel
destination

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Wouter Geerts, hereby declare that this thesis and the empirical work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores what evidence there is that business travellers engage in environment-related practices (ERP) when they are at their travel destination, and evaluates what scope there is to expand the uptake of pro-environmental practices. Research at the intersection between environmental behaviour and flying has been undertaken before, but to my knowledge no published research has covered the practices of business travellers at the destination (*in situ* practices). The opportunities for business travellers to make pro-environmental choices, but also the influence of corporate and hotel structures on these choices, deserves further investigation.

To better understand business travellers' *in situ* practices, empirical research was undertaken in London, UK, with three groups of stakeholders that are involved in business travel, namely hotel managers, individual business travellers, and to a lesser extent their employers. This source triangulation allowed for an understanding of *in situ* practices from the perspective of different integral actors, and enhanced the research's reliability and rigour. Interviews were carried out with 34 business travellers, 22 London hotel managers and 4 company representatives, and business travellers were observed in hotel settings.

The findings from the empirical research are examined in four discussion chapters. Firstly, the discussion focuses on the limited implementation and communication of CSR practices in the researched hotels. This is followed by examining business travellers' experiences and attitudes to travelling, and the impact of the strenuous lifestyle on the uptake of ERP. By comparing the uptake of ERP at home and when away, it is argued that the strain of travelling negatively impacts the uptake of these practices when away. Next, through an exploration of the impact of corporate structures on travellers' behaviour, it is argued that travellers have opportunities to change their practices. Finally, however, it is discussed how there are major constraints, like travellers attempting to minimize 'friction' and group identity, which inhibit these changes.

Therefore, it is proposed that a collective and collaborative approach is needed, initiated by hotels and employers. The thesis emphasises the importance that should be placed by hotel management on the 'friction' that is added or reduced by implementing CSR practices. There is a scope for small changes to the practices of business travellers and to the structures that enable and inhibit these practices, in an effort to expand the pro-environmental practices that are currently present in individuals' lifestyles and in the hotel industry.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AA:	Automobile Association
ACTE:	Association of Corporate Travel Executives
CFP:	Corporate Financial Performance
CH:	Considerate Hoteliers
CHP:	Combined heat and power
CSP:	Corporate Social Performance
CSR:	Corporate Social Responsibility
EC:	EarthCheck
ERP	Environment-Related Practices
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
GTBS:	Green Tourism Business Scheme
IHG:	Intercontinental Hotel Group
IPCC:	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IPS:	International Passenger Survey
LECS:	Luxury Eco-Certification Standard
LED:	Light-emitting diode
LEED:	Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design
LQA:	Leading Quality Assurance
MNC:	Multinational Corporation
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organisation
ONS:	Office of National Statistics
SME:	Small and Medium Enterprises
SRA:	Sustainable Restaurant Association
STI:	Sustainable Travel International
TPB:	Theory of Planned Behaviour
TRA:	Theory of Reasoned Action
UN:	United Nations
UNWTO:	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
WCED:	World Commission on Environment and Development

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1

INTRODUCTION

Business travel and environmental sustainability might seem incompatible, especially to those that regularly travel for work themselves. Business travel in its present forms is inherently unsustainable. Business travel is an important part of contemporary business (Faulconbridge et al., 2009; Lassen, Laugen, & Næss, 2006) and flying is the dominant mode of transport for business travel (Lassen, 2006). Most scientists agree, however, that the greenhouse gas emissions from flying result in considerable damage to the natural environment (Becken, 2007; Gössling & Peeters, 2007; Hares, Dickinson & Wilkes, 2010; Lassen, 2010). Advancements in technologies like videoconferencing offer potential substitutes for business travel that are less environmentally damaging than flying, but admittedly, there is little evidence to suggest that business travel will cease to exist. Hence, it can be expected that people will continue to travel, and predominantly travel by plane, for business purposes. This thesis will not focus on alternatives to business travel, but rather on the environmental behaviour of business travellers when they are at their destination. While it is hard to foresee the practice of business travel becoming completely environmentally friendly, there are possibilities to reduce the environmental impact at the travel destination. I will investigate business travellers' current practices and will explore the scope to expand the uptake of pro-environmental practices. With growing concerns about the human impact on the natural environment (IPCC, 2007), and a heightening interest from many businesses to participate in Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) initiatives (Crane & Matten, 2007), this thesis aims to provide an understanding of the relationship between business travel and environmental behaviour.

Up to now, only limited attempts have been made to link the bodies of literature in environmental sustainability and business travel. To my knowledge, Claus Lassen (2010) is the only scholar to particularly focus his research on business travel and environmental behaviour, mainly focusing on travellers' perceptions of their environmental impact through *air travel*. This focus on flying practices is a recurring theme in a wider spectrum of research, which investigates the link between environmental sustainability and travel/tourism (Becken, 2007; Böhler, Grischkat, Haustein, & Hunecke, 2006; Gössling & Peeters, 2007; Hares, Dickinson, & Wilkes, 2010). The major greenhouse gas emissions

from flying justify this area of research, with flights contributing on average between 60 and 95 percent of the total emissions of a trip that involves air travel (Gössling & Peeters, 2007).

To my knowledge, little published research has so far covered another part of the environmental impact of business travel: the situation at the destination. In this thesis I start with the understanding that flying is a major contributor to business travel's unsustainable nature, but I will predominantly focus on travellers' *in situ* (at the destination) practices. The *in situ* practices include the hotel stay and all activities carried out in the hotel, transportation between locations (airport, hotel, meetings), work-related activities, restaurant visits and all other activities (including leisure activities) routinely undertaken while 'on location'. It can be expected that travellers have generally more control over, and choice in, their *in situ* practices than the practice of long distance flying¹ and, hence, this offers opportunities for travellers to make decisions based on environmental attitudes or values. Taking a bus instead of a taxi, or reusing hotel towels, are activities that have a much lesser impact on the overall environmental sustainability of the business travel industry. However, because these practices offer realistic alternative choices while the alternatives to long distance flying may seem much more radical, these practices deserve further investigation.

There are several actor groups involved in shaping business travel including, for example, individual travellers, employers, hotels, airlines, travel agencies, tourism boards. I will undertake my empirical research by focussing on three of these key 'business travel' actor groups: individual business travellers and hotel managers, and to a lesser extent on business travellers' employers. This introductory chapter will explain the positionality of this thesis within existing research on business travel, the tourism and hospitality industry, and sustainability. I will provide a rationale for the research by identifying a number of gaps in the literature, which this thesis aims to fill. This chapter will introduce six research questions which will guide the contributions throughout the thesis, and I will briefly explain the empirical work the thesis is based on. The chapter will conclude with an explanation of the thesis structure.

¹ It should be noted that travellers might have the opportunity to choose whether to fly or to take the train/bus/car for shorter trips. Although not the focus of this thesis, this is an issue that deserves further attention.

1.1 Positioning the research

1.1.1 Globalization and environmental sustainability

A high degree of scientific consensus has provided ongoing evidence of the link between globalization and climate change (IPCC, 2007). As Speth (2004: 141) – former environmental advisor to US Presidents Carter and Clinton – argues: “Today, the transition to a globalized world is progressing rapidly, but the transition to a sustainable one is not. Some believe that globalization is a prime reason for the failure to realize sustainable development. Others argue that globalization can and should advance the transition to sustainability.” Globalization can be referred to as “the growing interdependence of countries resulting from the increasing integration of trade, finance, people, and ideas in one global marketplace” (Soubbotina & Sheram, 2000: 66). The process of globalization has allowed individuals, mainly in income rich countries, to live lifestyles which are shaped by globalized knowledge and information, and goods and services from around the world. Globalization is not simply an economic phenomenon, but can be identified as the transformation of time and space (Giddens, 1994; Massey, 2005), where geographical distances are compressed due to technologies like airplanes and the internet (Urry, 1991). This time-space compression has resulted in “the geographical fragmentation, the spatial disruption, of our times” (Massey, 1994: 147). Local actions are shaped by global systems, but local actions also have global impacts and, hence, individuals’ lifestyles increasingly impact far-removed societies and the global natural environment (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2001).

Because of airplanes, as well as technologies like the internet, we can now more easily get and stay in touch with people on the other side of the world. Airplanes have made travel to different continents easier, less time consuming and cheaper. What used to be far away and ‘exotic’ places, have now become places of proximity (Urry, 2009). This has resulted in a boom in (international) travel, and has contributed to the increasing power and reach of (multinational) corporations. Today, multinational corporations (MNCs) transfer ever-growing amounts of goods, money, information and people around the world (Amin, 2002). Business relationships over space have led to an increase in business travel. The increasing ease of sending employees around the world on business trips has benefited the growth of multinational corporations, and business travel has in turn seen a rapid increase. Statistics from the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) show how the number of international arrivals has risen from 25 million in 1950, to 277 million in 1980, and 983 million in 2011 (UNWTO, 2012). Of these 983 million international arrivals, 15 percent

(147 million) were travelling for business purposes, and 52 percent travelled by plane (ibid). In 2001, the business travel market was estimated to be worth US\$387.1 billion (Euromonitor International, 2002). In the United Kingdom, business travel accounts for more than 7 million overseas visitors (see Figure 1.1). Furthermore, more than 80 million domestic trips to attend conferences and meetings are annually undertaken in the UK (Williams, 2009a).

1.1.2 Defining business travel

As the statistics above indicate, business travel comes in different shapes and sizes (Davidson & Cope, 2003) and, hence, deserves further exploration and a working definition for this thesis. At a rudimentary level, business travel can be defined using Davidson and Cope's (2003: 3) definition: "individual business travel comprises the trips made by those whose employment requires them to travel in order to carry out their work." More comprehensively, and as it is used in this thesis, the term business travel refers to all aspects of a travel experience, including the transport, overnight stay in accommodation, work commitments during the day, possible leisure activities in the evening, and everything in between. Swarbrooke and Horner (2001) define this set of practices as 'business tourism', while referring to business travel as the specific movement from A to B. I will not make this distinction in this thesis, instead opting to refer to the entire set of practices as 'business travel'. I have reservations about the term 'business tourism,' because tourism is generally associated with leisure travel and fun. In contrast, 'business travel' is a term generally used in popular media and in society to describe a work-related trip, and is commonly understood to include flights, the hotel stay and any activities undertaken at the destination.

As the definition of business travel discussed above shows, business travel is commonly discussed as one of two types of travelling, with leisure travel being the other. While boundaries between business and leisure travel can become blurred (e.g. when business travellers take part in leisure activities when on a business trip), there are some differences between leisure and business trips which provide further insights into business travel as part of a much larger travel industry². Just as the tourism and travel industry has grown, so too has research on it. However, compared to leisure travel, business travel is an under-investigated activity, largely neglected by scholars more interested in research into leisure travel (Davidson & Cope, 2003; Swarbrooke & Horner, 2001). According to Lockyer (2002: 294) there often "is a misunderstanding of the importance of business travellers because

² As stated above, according to the UNWTO (2012), business travel accounts for 15 percent of all international travel.

they are fewer in number”. Indeed, Figure 1.1 showed that business travellers are fewer in number, with 11.9 million overseas holiday travellers and 9 million overseas travellers visiting friends and relatives in the UK in 2012, while business travellers accounted for 7.3 million in 2012 after a major dip due to the economic recession. Figures from the International Passenger Survey (ONS, 2011; VisitBritain, 2010) show, however, that in the UK in 2009, the average spending of holiday travellers (both domestic and overseas) was £58 per person per night (pppn), and for travellers visiting friends or relatives £40 pppn, while this figure was £116 pppn for business travellers. This highlights the importance of business travellers’ spending power for the UK, and the world economy, and the opportunity of researching this group of travellers more intensively.

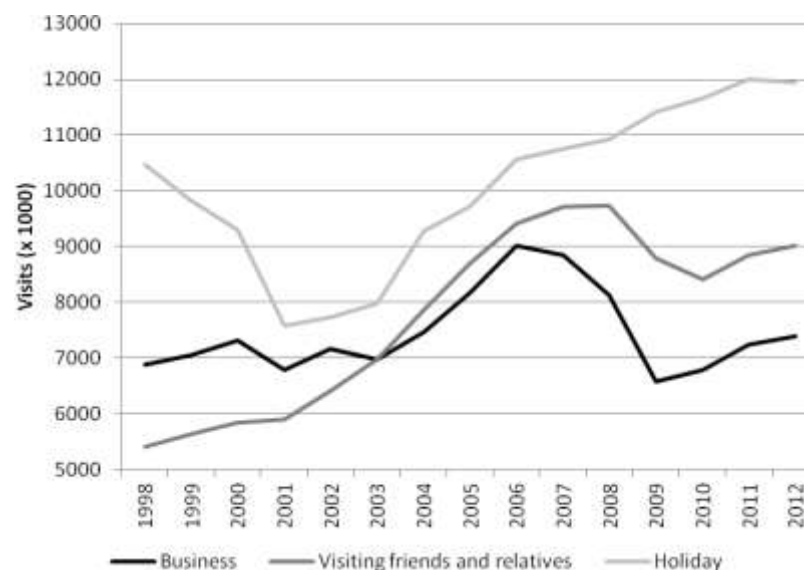


Figure 1.1: Overseas residents’ visits to the UK (source: Office of National Statistics)

Next to the differences in spending behaviour, there generally is a difference in the destinations visited by travellers: while leisure travel has a wide variety of places in which it takes place, like nature-based holidays, city breaks, or coastal resorts, business travel will most often take place in urban areas. Furthermore, incidences of return to the same location are generally higher amongst business travellers (Bigne, Sanchez, & Andreu, 2009), especially when visiting long-standing clients or undertaking intrafirm travel³. Higher revisitation numbers make business travellers important customers to the hospitality industry. Data from the UK shows that 75 percent of all international business travellers

³ Intrafirm travel is defined by Faulconbridge et al. (2009: 306) as travel “between offices of the same firm”.

stayed in a hotel or guest house in 2009 (ONS, 2011). A survey by the US American organisation Business and Convention Travelers, furthermore, found that 50 percent of all guest rooms in the USA were reserved by business travellers (Mullis, 2006), while Davidson (1994) has argued that this number might be higher for the UK hotel market. While many travellers would traditionally stay in high-end hotels (3 to 5-star hotels), a report by the Economist Intelligence Unit (2009) has shown that the economic crisis from 2008 onwards has instigated a redistribution of travellers over the entire breadth of hotel offerings including budget, 1, and 2-star establishments. Similarly, many corporations are implementing stricter expenditure structures regarding flights, illustrated by the increase of 1 million business travellers between 2010 and 2011 flying with European ‘budget-airline’ EasyJet (BBC News, 2011).

A final difference between business and leisure travellers relates to the decision-making process. For business travellers it is often the employer who decides and pays for travel (Davidson & Cope, 2003; Swarbrooke & Horner, 2001), while leisure travellers most often book and pay themselves. Furthermore, it is argued that it is often the superior or client of an employee who will make a decision on the need for travel (ibid), in contrast to leisure travellers who will mostly decide themselves when and where they travel, depending on their financial means and time available. This means that business travellers’ agency is diminished, with ‘agency’ concerning “events of which an individual is the perpetrator, in the sense that the individual could, at any phase in a given sequence of conduct, have acted differently” (Giddens, 1984: 9). This thesis will explore the existence and extent of business travellers’ agency, and how they perceive this agency.

1.1.3 Defining environment-related practices

Business travellers’ agency is potentially less than that of leisure travellers, mainly because corporate expectations and rules establish the parameters for business travellers’ range of choices. This thesis considers how corporate parameters for travel include or neglect the possibility of the inclusion of environment-related practices (ERP) in business travellers’ choices. Which ERP are carried out by individual business travellers is, therefore, not solely based on their attitudes or values, and this thesis will extensively discuss this later. Here it is important to explain how practices and their environmental impact are understood in this thesis.

A ‘practice’ can be defined as “a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities,

‘things’ and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge” (Reckwitz, 2002: 249). Business travel should be understood as a meta-practice, a range or set of different practices, like for example flying, staying in hotels, taking taxis, and going to meetings. These practices together form the meta-practice of business travel. Practices are carried out by knowledgeable individuals and are often “embedded in routines, in relationships and in deeply ingrained habits” (Barnett, Cloke, Clarke, & Malpass, 2011). This means that individuals could decide to carry out certain practices because these have a smaller impact on the natural environment than alternatives. These practices are generally referred to as pro-environmental, environmentally friendly, or ‘green’ practices. People, however, could also knowingly or unknowingly carry out practices which are worse for the natural environment than available alternatives. These practices could be referred to as anti-environmental, environmentally unfriendly, or environmentally damaging practices. Some of the reasons for carrying out environmentally damaging practices could be, for example, lack of knowledge about the impact of different alternatives, convenience, time or money pressures, self-identity, peer pressure, out of spite and rebellion, but also because the environmentally damaging practice is part of a routine or habit.

The divide between pro- and anti-environmental practices, however, is not as simple as explained above. Depending on the alternatives available in any given situation, the geographical location inhabited, cultural influences, peer pressures, expert or scientists’ opinions, and the perception and knowledge of the actor, practices can often both be understood as pro- and anti-environmental. With this I mean that, for example, driving a hybrid car might be perceived in society as a pro-environmental activity, while critics will point out that the production of a hybrid car is far more environmentally damaging than the production of a conventional car (Williams, 2009b). Furthermore, other critics might say that driving any type of car is an environmentally damaging practice when compared to cycling or walking. ‘Green’ behaviour should not be understood as a dichotomy of pro- and anti-environmental practices, but rather as a continuum with ‘different shades of green’ (Pantelidis, Geerts, & Acheampong, 2010). Therefore, the perception and knowledge of individuals – and in the case of this thesis, my interviewees – largely shapes the links between practices and environmental impacts, and should not be understood as a homogeneously given. For that reason, in order to capture some of this complexity, instead of referring to pro-environmental or anti-environmental (and possibly even environmentally-neutral) practices, I will use the term environment-related practices to

capture current practices that are carried out by business travellers for environmental reasons, with practices either positively or negatively impacting the environment.

1.1.4 Defining CSR

In regard to corporations, environmental and social commitments are increasingly implemented under the umbrella-term of CSR, thereby promoting responsible business practices to employees and other stakeholders (Crane & Matten, 2007). CSR can be defined as “the economic, legal, ethical, and discretionary expectations that society has of organizations at a given point in time” (Carroll, 1979: 500). CSR is a contested and dynamic concept (Crane, Matten, & Spence, 2008), and exactly what the term entails is not always clear (McWilliams & Siegel, 2001). The common consensus is that CSR implies a form of commitment to a ‘social’ good – or rather to ‘stakeholders’ than ‘society’ in general – which is voluntary and goes beyond the minimum obligations as required by law (Banerjee, 2007; Crane, Matten, & Spence, 2013; McWilliams & Siegel, 2001).

Since its introduction more than half a century ago, CSR has become increasingly popular amongst business leaders, and has seen a shifting focus from ‘society’ and philanthropy to ‘stakeholders’ and the business case for CSR (Lee, 2008). Within the management literature, Howard Bowen’s ‘Social Responsibilities of the Businessman’ (1953) is widely seen as a milestone in the discussion of businesses’ responsibilities in society. Influenced by protestant religious thinkers, Bowen theorized about the historical, political, social and institutional dimensions of CSR, and was a strong advocate of corporate managers’ social responsibilities. Some have argued that even today Bowen’s work is refreshing and insightful beyond the narrow, money-driven mindset which they claim continues to be integral to many discussions about CSR (Acquier, Gond & Pasquero, 2013).

By the 1960s, and influenced by Bowen’s publication, many corporations had started introducing corporate philanthropy programmes (Vogel, 2005). These philanthropic pursuits – which often had no clear benefit to corporations’ bottom line – led to criticism, most famously from American economist Milton Friedman (1962, 1970). Friedman was opposed to corporate managers spending shareholders’ money on anything but increasing the firm’s profit. He argued that this would place the firm at a competitive disadvantage, and questioned whether managers were competent enough to make decisions regarding social responsibilities – an issue which he argued was the responsibility of government.

Although there has been extensive criticism on Friedman's assertions, his arguments have been instrumental in moving the field of CSR forward (Smith, 2003). Considering the arguments of both opponents and advocates to CSR, Wallich and McGowan (1970) published an important article in which they argued that CSR could only be successful if it considered the interests of corporations' shareholders. The so-called 'enlightened self-interest' model that stemmed from this discussion, advocated that corporations invest in the environment they belong to as a form of long-term self-preservation (Keim, 1978). Carroll's (1979) multi-level model of corporate social performance further strengthened the notion that CSR could and should be used to profit the corporation. In the model he explained the different responsibilities of a corporation, and whether and how society expects these responsibilities to be realised. The problem with Carroll's model, however, was that it was not practical for corporate managers who had trouble determining which activities to invest in and which to ignore. Freeman's (1984) stakeholder model responded to this void, by pointing out that corporations are not only affected by shareholders, but also by other stakeholders such as consumers, employees, governments and NGOs.

Today, many argue that socially responsible companies that consider and work with their stakeholders will also be more profitable (Peloza & Shang, 2011). Since the 1970s there has been a considerable increase in publications on CSR (for an overview, see e.g. Aguinis & Glavas, 2012; Taneja, Taneja & Gupta, 2011), and in those years the bulk of literature on CSR has moved away from discussing the ethical perspective of CSR towards a discussion of the economic perspective. A plethora of current research focuses on establishing a link between Corporate Social Performance (CSP) and Corporate Financial Performance (CFP) (Van Beurden & Gössling, 2008). In the business community, this combined focus on stakeholders and linking CFP with CSP, has, for example, resulted in environmental issues such as carbon emissions becoming one of the most important CSR issues, in response to growing concerns over climate change and environmental pollution (Lee, 2008). Rather than just focussing on the 'social' and 'economic' responsibilities of corporations, corporations nowadays often focus on three areas: their economic, social, and environmental responsibilities. This three-way division gained popularity through a 1987 report on 'sustainable development' by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED).

Although it is argued that the term 'sustainable development' was first used at the 1972 Stockholm United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (Barbier, 1987), it was the publication of the UN report 'Our Common Future' by the WCED in 1987 that brought

popularity to the term and its associated ideas. In the report, sustainable development is defined as development that “meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1987: 8), and a focus was placed on the areas of environmental sustainability, economic sustainability and social sustainability. Using these key foci, CSR has therefore also been defined as: “the firm’s considerations of, and response to, issues beyond the narrow economic, technical, and legal requirements of the firm to accomplish social [and environmental] benefits along with the traditional economic gains which the firm seeks” (Davis, 1973: 312, addition by WG). The fact that no single agreed-upon definition of CSR exists, however, has resulted in scholars – and associations and corporations – adding new terms such as corporate citizenship, the triple bottom line, corporate governance, and business sustainability into the CSR literature (Elkington, 1997, Moir, 2001; Woods, 1991). This has further resulted in CSR becoming more popular and accessible to a wider audience.

The growing popularity of CSR as a research subject has resulted in an exponential growth in predominantly empirical studies on the subject (Taneja et al., 2011), but the level of criticality within those studies varies. The fact that many studies in their literature review still start by pointing out the different arguments of Friedman and Freeman is arguably testament to this. There are, however, also voices which are more critical about the discussions in the CSR literature, and about CSR as a vehicle towards sustainable development. Spence has, for example, discussed how CSR is generally discussed in connection to multinational corporations which operate in the Anglo-American governance model. She has pushed research into SMEs (Spence, 2007; Spence & Rutherford, 2003), advocated a focus on other governance models (Spence, 2005), and used the contemporary theory of feminist ethics to discuss an alternative perspective on CSR (Spence, 2014). Fleming and Jones (2013) argue that CSR should be seen as a tool used by corporations to expand their economic influence and control. They argue that the capitalist system prioritizes economic rationality and that the aspirations of CSR, such as the triple bottom line, are at odds with capitalism. They are critical about the way CSR has become an empty gesture, and has helped corporations to extend the market rationality in society through applications such as the EU Emissions Trading Scheme which puts a trading price on CO₂ emissions. According to them, only with critical scholarship and government intervention beyond CSR can sustainable development be achieved.

This thesis is not the place to critique the fundamentals of CSR, but I will attempt to critically assess the use of CSR practices by hotels. To do this, a fundamental distinction

should be made between CSR policies and CSR practices. I will refer to *CSR policies* as written documents outlining a company's CSR intentions, commitments, vision and/or goals. These policy documents are written for the effective communication to a specified audience, for example, consumers, staff members, suppliers or shareholders. CSR policies, however, will not necessarily result in actual changes in a company's activities. I will refer to *CSR practices*⁴ when discussing practical implementations and working methods, like the introduction of energy or water saving technologies, or the phasing-out of toxic cleaning agents. In this thesis I will mainly be concerned with the latter, because CSR practices are physical implementations, which show a commitment by hotel management to a certain cause. What this cause might be will be critically discussed in this thesis.

1.1.5 Social practices and structuration theory

In this thesis I will use social practice theories, and particularly Giddens' structuration theory, to explore how ERP are carried out by business travellers, and whether there is a scope to increase the uptake of practices which are commonly perceived as pro-environmental. Above, social practices were explained as routinized or habitual actions, carried out by knowledgeable individuals. Practices are distinguishable from behaviour, with the term 'behaviour' referring to the common phenomenon which is composed of a plethora of actions which make up activities. 'Practices', on the other hand, are activities which are characterized through their routinized or habitual nature, and which are socially determined or socially sanctioned activities (Bourdieu, 1984). Using this distinction, the theories of social practice provide two particular insights which are valuable to this thesis. Firstly, practice theorists understand most actions that individuals carry out as routinized and habitual practices, which means that practices are often hard to change. Secondly, practice theories have the ability to explain human activity as embedded into a social structure. They provide an understanding of how individuals use their surroundings to carry out activities, which is particularly relevant for business travellers who travel by order of their employers and inhabit places away from their own home space where they have greater autonomy.

Practice theories, then, understand individuals as knowledgeable actors who 'utilise' and 'work (with)' societal structures to shape their lives. Although practice theorists all have a slightly different understanding of the term 'structures', and use a different vocabulary to explain the concept, this constitutional element of structures is the same for all. At its most

⁴ CSR practices should not be confused with individuals' social practices, which were introduced in the previous section.

fundamental level, Giddens (1984) explains structure as compositions of rules and resources. These 'rule-resource' sets are intimately connected with societal systems, with 'systems' being understood as "relations between actors or collectivities reproduced across time and space, i.e. actions which are repeated and, therefore, extend themselves beyond an individual act" (Kaspersen, 2000: 42). The shape or composition of rule-resource sets are time-space dependent, and this means that the structures that influence individual business travellers will change depending on the places they inhabit. Each geographical location will have different societal rules and customs, and other rules and resources will apply to travellers' home environment than to the places they visit on their travels. By applying Giddens' structuration theory to business travellers' practices, this thesis contributes in two ways to existing literature and knowledge of individuals' practices.

Firstly, Giddens argues that time-space relations are important features of social systems and affect the practices of individuals in different situations. As Urry (1991) points out, however, Giddens does not examine the influence of travel on individuals' practices. Urry (1991: 168) states how there is "no examination of why people travel and hence why saving 'time', or covering more 'space', might be of 'interest' to people." He notes that travelling, with the changes in time-space relations, can encourage resistance, opposition, pleasure, autonomy or a sense of deprivation, which Giddens does not examine. In this thesis, I will show how Giddens' structuration theory applies to the meta-practice of business travel, and how it helps to explain the relation between travel and individuals' experiences like resistance, opposition and pleasure.

Secondly, by considering structures and time-space relations, environmental behaviour change can be argued to rely not only on the willingness of an individual to change, but also on the structural acceptability of this change. While this means that structures can inhibit the uptake of ERP, Giddens (1984) argues that structures are also enabling, and that individuals have the collective agency to change structures. This notion of the 'duality of structure' is one of the main contributions from his structuration theory, and one that will be explored in this thesis. By utilising a qualitative research design, this thesis attempts to contribute to understanding how the uptake of ERP is influenced by structures, and how business travellers can influence structures.

1.2 Research aim and questions

The aim of this research is to explore if there is any evidence and, if so, what evidence there is, that business travellers engage in ERP when at their travel destination, and to evaluate what scope there is for expanding pro-environmental practices. London hotels have to conform to environmental regulations, such as building regulations or regulations on the disposal of waste (more on this in Chapter 3.1.4), which might have an impact on the ERP carried out by travellers. In this thesis, however, I will predominantly focus on CSR practices which are voluntarily and intentionally implemented by hotels, to evaluate how these practices influence the uptake of ERP amongst business travellers. Building on the findings from existing literature and addressing the limitations, six research questions were formulated to guide the empirical research. These research questions will be introduced below.

- 1. Do business travellers reflect on their travel-related practices in regards to environmental impacts? If so, why and how? If not, why not?*
- 2. Do hotel management teams implement CSR practices to reduce their hotels' environmental impact? If so, which, and how are they communicated to stakeholders? If not, why not?*

The empirical data collection for the first two research questions focuses predominantly on two stakeholder groups, namely business travellers and hotel managers. The first research question explores the extent of ERP currently carried out by business travellers. As was stated above, very limited research has so far focused on business travellers' ERP when at the travel destination. In this thesis I, therefore, explore how business travellers perceive their practices when on a business trip, and inquire the extent of, and reasons for, carrying out ERP.

With regards to the second research question, there has been a rise in the implementation of CSR practices in hotels for the past decades, and a considerable increase in research investigating this issue (e.g. Butler, 2008; Nicholls & Kang, 2012; Rahman, Reynolds, & Svaren, 2012; Tierney, 2007; Tzschentke, Kirk, & Lynch, 2004). It can be argued that many hotels adopt 'green' practices to save on utility costs (Kirk, 1995), with practices like the installation of LED lighting and motion sensors, aerators on water taps, key-activation

systems in bedrooms⁵, more energy efficient heating and cooling systems, and/or the use of renewable energy sources being able to provide short-term or long-term savings. Other research has also shown that social and ethical reasons, like an owner's feeling of having a moral obligation towards the local community, can play a role in the implementation of CSR practices (Garay & Font, 2012; Tzschentke et al., 2004). Limited research, however, has focused on how such practices are communicated to stakeholders – most importantly hotel guests. Through the use of research question 2, I attempt to establish whether and why hotel managers communicate their CSR practices, or why they neglect to communicate their efforts. This will provide an insight into whether they perceive that CSR practices matter to business travellers. Data from interviews with hotel managers, as well as an analysis of hotel websites, will be used to provide an insight into this question.

3. *Do these three researched actor groups – hotel management, business travellers and their employers – influence each others' uptake of ERP (in the case of travellers) and implementation of CSR practices (in the case of hotels and employers)? If so, how and why? If not, why not?*

The empirical research for this thesis is mainly focused on two actor groups that are involved in business travellers' *in situ* practices – individual business travellers and hotel managers – but the views and perceptions of the employers of business travellers are also investigated, so as to enhance the understanding of the research subject, and to understand how actor groups influence one another.

There seems to be little discussion in academic literature about CSR practices that are implemented by employers, and which directly influence the behaviour of business travellers when at the travel destination. Corporate travel is increasingly a subject of companies' CSR commitments (Harris, 2009), and some studies have shown that 'green' business travel options are increasingly important to companies (Meetings Industry Association, 2007; Mullis, 2006), but there is no research that investigates how companies' policies influence the uptake of ERP of business travellers at the travel destination.

⁵ Aerators are placed in water taps to mix water with air for a higher pressure and reduced water consumption. Key activation systems involve an electronic room key which activates the electricity supply to the hotel bedroom and, therefore, makes it impossible for the guest to leave electronics on when away.

Furthermore, there is limited research that investigates the influence of CSR practices in hotels on guests' uptake of ERP. There has been some research into the link between information that is provided on cards about hotels' towel reuse programmes, and guests' participation (Goldstein, Cialdini, & Griskevicius, 2008; Shang, Basil, & Wymer, 2010). Goldstein et al. (2008) found that the uptake of towel reuse programmes increased when the card described group behaviour (e.g. the majority of guests in this room reuse their towel), rather than simply stating the benefit of participation to the environment. Shang et al. (2010) found that the uptake of towel reuse programmes increased when savings from the programme are donated to a charity. Miao and Wei (2013), however, found that staying in a hotel, compared to being at home, had a negative impact on the uptake of ERP. The authors researched the differences between ERP in home and hotel settings, and found that individuals were less environmentally conscious when in a hotel, because hedonic motives were more important when staying in a hotel.

The three studies discussed here are the only studies which to my knowledge research the influence of CSR practices on hotel guests' behaviour. Although these studies provide interesting contributions, shortcomings of the studies on the towel reuse programme can be found in the presumption that guests' participation is solely based on the information provided, which is a notion that is present in much of the literature on environmental behaviour (Barnett, Cloke, Clarke, & Malpass, 2005). This, however, disregards the influence of factors like time, space, and structures on individuals' behaviour. Miao and Wei's (2013) quantitative research, furthermore, provides some insight into the differences between home and away behaviour, but little concrete reasons for these differences. The data collection from three important actor groups for this thesis is expected to allow for triangulation of perspectives and a comparison of the impact that different actors have on each others' uptake of ERP and the implementation of CSR practices. This question, hence, consists of a number of sub-questions:

- a. Where individual travellers carry out ERP, is this influenced by (1) employers' rules and expectations in regards to CSR; and/or (2) hotels' CSR practices?
- b. Is the implementation of CSR practices in hotels influenced by (1) companies' booking policies and their CSR policies; and/or (2) business travellers' behaviour in the hotel?
- c. Is the implementation of CSR policies by business travellers' employers (especially those relating to business travel) influenced by (1) travelling employees' expectations; and/or (2) hotels' CSR practices?

Answering these questions will provide an insight into the current CSR practices implemented by hotels and travellers' employers, and investigates whether, and which, ERP are carried out by business travellers. It will, furthermore, provide an understanding of the influence of each actor on the practices of the others.

4. Is there a link between travellers' embodied experience of business travel and the uptake, or not, of ERP when travelling?

A growing body of literature is focusing on the physical and psychological strains of business travel (Gilbert & Morris, 1995; Lassen, 2006, 2009), as well as the impact of travelling on personal relations at home (Gustafson, 2006; Ivancevic, Konopaske, & DeFrank, 2003). When away from home, hotels are important places to relieve some of these stresses (Gilbert & Morris, 1995), but hotels have also been described as non-places which have to cater for a range of people without any permanent inhabitants (Sheller & Urry, 2006; Urry, 2009). This often gives hotels a monotonous and impersonal character (Lassen, 2009). While time pressure and stress, and the spaces individuals inhabit, have been shown to impact ethical consumption behaviour (e.g. Barnett et al., 2011; Kleine, Light, & Montero, 2012), no studies have researched the influence of factors like time pressure, physical and mental stresses, and non-places on business travellers' uptake of ERP. This question explores whether there is a link between travellers' experiences of travelling and staying in hotels, and their uptake of ERP.

5. Do spaces, particularly the hotel space and home space and their social construction and structural characteristics, have an influence on the uptake, or not, of ERP amongst business travellers? If so, how?

To answer this question, this thesis will use the data collected from interviews with business travellers to understand how individuals 'shape' their lifestyles in different situations and spaces. As I will discuss in chapter 2, some discussions have emerged which consider the division of individuals' lifestyles into 'sectors', which Giddens (1991a) explains as 'time-space slices', within which individuals carry out consistent and ordered sets of practices which 'fit' the spaces they inhabit. It has been argued that practices can spill over from one sector to another (Thøgersen, 1999; Thøgersen & Ölander, 2003). Since travellers regularly move between different sectors, I ask if it is possible to make a distinction between the behaviour of travellers in their 'home sector' and home spaces, and an 'away sector' which

includes spaces like hotels. Furthermore, I question if the uptake of ERP changes between home spaces and hotels. Researchers have shown that the uptake of ERP lessens when individuals go on a holiday (Barr et al., 2010) and when staying in a hotel (Miao & Wei, 2013), and business travellers are a particularly interesting case. A hotel can be understood as a liminal space (Pritchard & Morgan, 2006), which is away from the home and office, but functions both as a temporary home and office. Within the hotel, spaces could, furthermore, be divided into front and back regions (Goffman, 1959). Front regions are largely public spaces in which individuals ‘perform’ a role to other individuals. Back regions are largely private spaces where this performance can be dropped⁶. This distinction between front and back regions might have a further influence on business travellers’ behaviour. This thesis aims to identify concrete differences between different sectors and spaces, which might influence the uptake of particular practices. Subsequently, this has the potential to provide an insight into the scope to expand the uptake of pro-environmental practices when travellers are away from home.

6. Are there barriers and constraints which prohibit business travellers from changing existing structures? If so, which and how can these constraints be lifted?

The final question this thesis attempts to answer concerns the structures which guide business travellers’ practices. As will be extensively discussed in Chapter 2, Giddens (1984) explains how practices are shaped through individuals’ knowledge and attitudes, but also through societal structures. In his theory of structuration, he explains how rules and resources form structures which guide individuals’ practices. In this thesis the predominant focus will be on the structures present in hotels and in employers’ expectations and formal policies. Giddens’ theory helps to understand how these structures have the potential to enable or inhibit practices. An important aspect of Giddens’ theory, however, is that individuals reinforce structures by complying with them and, hence, have the agency to change unwanted structures by changing their practices. Although individuals could theoretically have the agency to change practices and structures, it is expected that there are barriers and constraints which inhibit such changes. This question explores these constraints, and how these constraints can be lifted. For this research question, data collected from all three actor groups will be used.

⁶ The difference between front and back regions is further explored in Chapter 2.4.1.

1.3 Research methods

1.3.1 Choice of the geographical case

For an understanding of *in situ* practices, the research focused mainly on two stakeholders or actor groups, which are involved in business travel, namely hotel managers and individual business travellers. To a lesser extent there was also a focus on business travellers' employers as represented by company managers. All research was undertaken in London, the capital of the United Kingdom, and a hub for international finance – with The City and Canary Wharf – and tourism, especially with high-profile events like the Olympic Games 2012. There are a large amount of facts and figures available about the economic health of London. These figures are each derived from data measured slightly differently, making comparisons between studies difficult. The available data, however, clearly indicate the economic status of London, and the importance of leisure and business travel for the city, making it a highly suitable location for research into business travel.

1.3.2 London as the research location

With over 8 million inhabitants, London is the largest metropolitan area in Europe (ONS, 2012). It has won accolades as the world's top financial centre (Yeandle, 2011), and the largest centre of commerce (MasterCard Worldwide, 2008). Some have called it the financial and cultural capital of the world (Calder, 2007; Teodorczuk, 2007). In 2010, London had the world's largest airport system, handling over 147 million passengers at its Heathrow, Stansted, Gatwick, Southend and City airports (CAPA Centre for Aviation, 2011). London Heathrow Airport is by far the largest of these airports, handling 65 million international passengers in 2012, making it the world's largest airport in this category (Heathrow Airport, 2013). London's attractiveness to companies and business travellers is also strengthened by London City Airport, which focuses specifically on serving business travellers (London City Airport, 2011).

Figures on the city as a tourism destination vary, but are again impressive. London topped the list of global city destinations in research conducted by MasterCard, which estimated that London attracted just over 20 million international arrivals in 2011 (The Independent, 2011). According to research by Euromonitor International, London is the third most popular city-destination for international travellers after Hong Kong and Singapore, with just over 15 million travellers visiting London in 2011 (Euromonitor International, 2013), although London was the most popular destination until 2009 (Euromonitor International, 2007, 2010, 2011, 2012). Tourism spending in the city amounts to around £15bn per year,

and the tourism sector accounts for around 10 percent of the Gross Domestic Product of London (Visit London, 2004). Business travellers account for 25 percent of all visitors to London, generating 33 percent of total revenue from tourism (both leisure and business), totalling an annual income for the city of £2,75 billion in 2001 from business travel expenditure (Greater London Authority, 2002a).

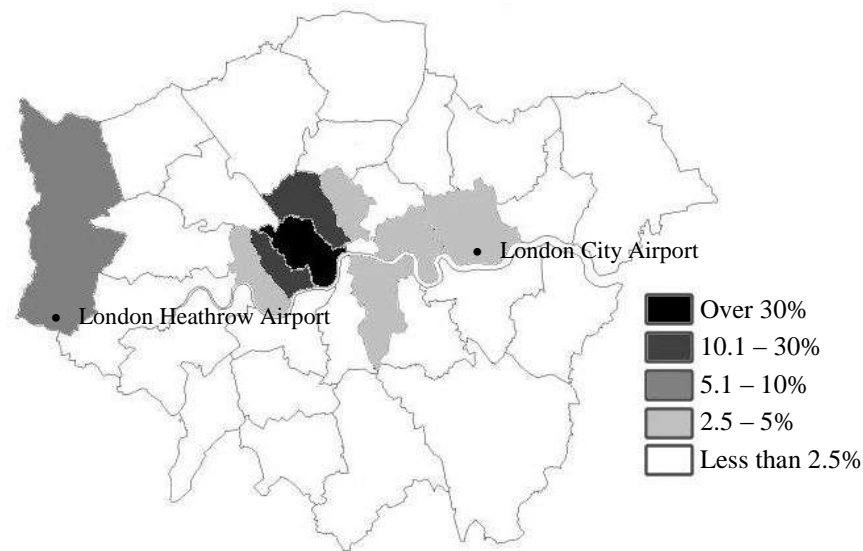


Figure 1.2: London hotels by borough, as percentage of total (adapted from Williams (2009a))

The visiting travellers stay in a wide variety of accommodation. London is characterised by a decreasing number of small, private hotels, and an increasing number of large hotel chains (Williams, 2009a). About 70 percent of hotel rooms in London are offered by hotels that are part of a chain (Visit London, 2007). In a 2007 report, Visit London estimated that the city provided around 130,000 rooms at the time, of which 83,000 were hotel rooms. A further 19,000 rooms were planned to be built before 2010, with half of these rooms in 4-star (23%) and 5-star (27%) hotels (ibid). Figure 1.2 shows the distribution of hotels across London boroughs, with the highest concentration found in Westminster, which together with the neighbouring boroughs of Kensington & Chelsea and Camden, hosts the majority of ‘high-profile’ tourist attractions. Other high concentrations can be found in Tower Hamlets and Newham, the boroughs containing the business district Canary Wharf and London City Airport respectively, and the borough of Hillingdon, which contains London Heathrow Airport.

1.3.3 Research design

The empirical data which shapes this thesis has been collected using mainly qualitative research methods, namely interviews and participant observation, plus website analysis. To

understand business travellers' *in situ* practices and factors that have the potential to influence these practices, three stakeholder groups were interviewed. The triangulation (as illustrated in Figure 1.3) allowed for an understanding of the business travel 'world' from the perspective of different integral actors, and provided an understanding of the relationships between the different stakeholders, adding to the rigour and reliability of the empirical findings.

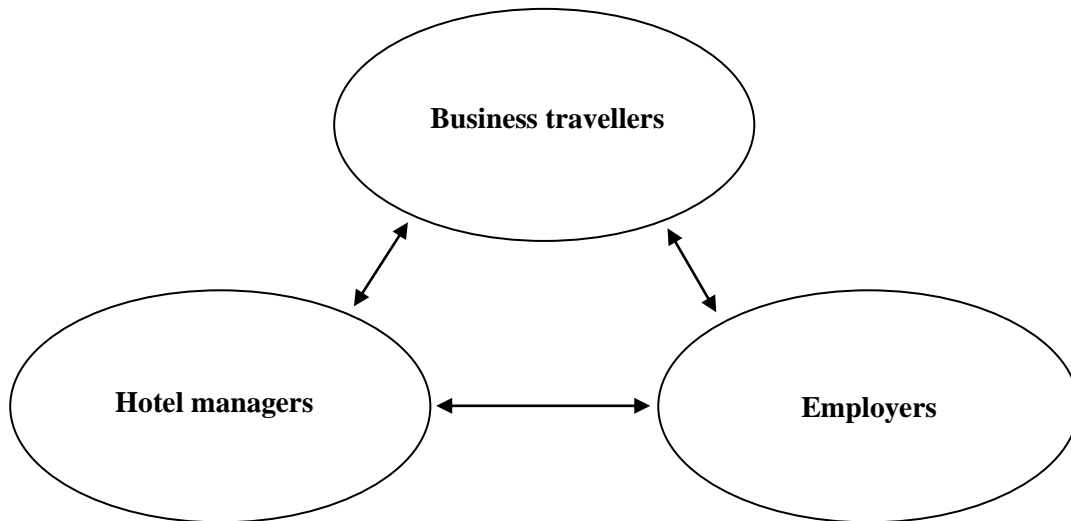


Figure 1.3: Triangulation of three actor groups

Interviews were undertaken with 34 business travellers, recruited through purposive sampling, snowballing, contacts in the hotel industry, and at London City Airport. Furthermore, a list of 196 Central London hotels was established using the official star-rating system from Visit Britain. The websites of these hotels were analysed for information about CSR practices, and contacting these hotels resulted in 22 interviews with hotel managers. Hotels were also used as the scene of 6 participant observation sessions. The behaviour of business travellers and the interactions with hotel staff were observed in hotel lobbies and bars. Finally, a further 4 expert interviews were held with company representatives responsible for travel management or sustainability in their companies.

1.4 Thesis outline

The thesis consists of nine chapters, with Chapters 2 and 3 providing a conceptual framework based on existing and relevant literature, and Chapter 4 discussing the methodology for the empirical contribution of this thesis. Chapters 5 to 8 provide findings from the empirical research and will analyse these findings in relation to the conceptual

framework. The final chapter of this thesis discusses conclusions, recommendations and limitations of the research. Below I will briefly explain the focus of Chapters 2 to 9.

Chapter 2 is the first of two chapters which lay out the literature review and conceptual framework of this thesis. It discusses how individuals are increasingly pursuing ‘green’ lifestyles. Due to a growing body of knowledge into the human impact on phenomena like pollution and climate change, the interest amongst individuals in the environmental impact of their behaviour is growing. Through an analysis of social practice theories, the chapter will discuss how lifestyles are formed, or pursued, by individuals. This involves a discussion of practices, routinization, individualization, ‘detraditionalization’ and reflexivity. This will be followed by a discussion of structures, and other factors like attitudes and values, and their influence on behaviour. Using Giddens’ (1984) theory of structuration, I will discuss how rules and the availability of resources influence individuals’ practices. In his structuration theory, Giddens’ explains that structures not only shape individuals’ practices, but individuals similarly shape structures – a notion he calls the ‘duality of structure’. Using Barnett et al.’s (2005, 2011) work on ethical consumption practices, Goffman’s (1959) work on performances, and Arthur et al.’s (2010) concept of incremental radicalism, this chapter will explore how individuals shape their lifestyles and carry out ERP.

In Chapter 3 the focus shifts from individuals’ lifestyles and ERP to corporations and CSR. This chapter will start with an investigation into the history and rise of the commercial hospitality industry, which allows for a discussion of the importance of guest expectations and satisfaction for hotels. This subsequently provides the means to examine the potential influence of guest expectations on the implementation of CSR practices in the hospitality industry. It will be discussed how CSR is growing in popularity in the industry, but I will also critique the limited impact it has had in many instances. The second part of the chapter will then focus on the influence of employers’ rules and expectations on employees’ uptake of ERP. I will explain how a conflict can exist between individual and corporate moral values, and how corporations can use their corporate control to rule or force employees’ behaviour. This control has never been absolute, however, and especially in regards to business travel, which takes employees outside the direct confinement of an office, corporations will not be able to completely control their employees’ behaviour. Hence, it will be explored how business travellers have certain freedoms to choose their own behaviour and can decide to carry out ERP.

Chapter 4 explains in more detail how the empirical research was undertaken, explaining how the research was shaped through a modified grounded theory approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Continuing from the introductory explanation of research methods given in this chapter, the rationale, research design, research procedures (both successful and less successful approaches), and limitations will be discussed.

Chapter 5 is the first discussion chapter, and will specifically focus on answering research questions 2 and 3. The discussions in this chapter are based on findings from interviews with hotel managers and the analysis of hotel websites. Information about CSR practices and environmental certifications provided on 196 hotel websites, and subsequent interviews with 22 hotel managers, allowed for a comparison between the communicated and actual CSR practices and certifications. I question in this chapter what the reasons are for hotels to communicate their CSR practices, or abstain from doing so, and how this impacts stakeholders, like hotel employees and business travellers.

Chapter 6 is predominantly focused on research questions 1, 3 and 4. It discusses business travellers' attitudes towards travelling, and attitudes to staying in hotels at the destination. It offers insights into how it feels to be a business traveller. I explore how hotels as spaces are important in 'fixing' transient bodies, and how they are spaces where business travellers can relax. How the attitudes towards travelling influence business travellers' *in situ* ERP is the focus of the second part of this chapter. Through a comparison of home and away practices – which contributes to answering research question 5 – it will be discussed how being away on a business trip is influencing business travellers' uptake of ERP.

Chapter 7 presents more extensive discussions of topics and issues explored in the previous chapters, by discussing the structural constraints that stop travellers from carrying out ERP, and by investigating whether travellers have a sense of agency to change these structures (research question 6). In this chapter I will return to the distinction between business travellers' home and away behaviour to explore whether barriers to ERP are more pronounced for business travellers while they are away from home (research question 5). In the second part of this chapter I will focus on one particular barrier in 'away' spaces: group identity. I will explore whether business travellers' perception of belonging to a 'group' of business travellers, impacts how they reflect on their current behaviour, and how they attempt to change this behaviour to include more ERP.

Chapter 8 contributes to answering research questions 3, 5 and 6. The chapter starts with a discussion of the impact of corporate rules and surveillance on travellers' behaviour, to show that away from the office, business travellers have opportunities to define their own behaviour. Using Goffman's (1959) concept of 'performances,' and front and back regions, it is explored whether business travellers' behaviour changes between spaces and regions. These discussions allow me to give examples of situations where business travellers have the opportunity to change their behaviour and potentially adopt pro-environmental practices. Using Giddens' (1984) concept of the 'duality of structure' and Arthur et al.'s (2010) notion of 'incremental radicalism' it is examined how individuals have opportunities to change structures which currently seem to inhibit the uptake of ERP.

Finally, Chapter 9 provides conclusions, limitations and recommendations for further research. The chapter provides a summary of the key themes of the thesis, and a reiteration of the insights that Chapters 5 to 8 provide regarding the research questions. I will conclude the chapter with a discussion of some limitations of the empirical research that was undertaken as the basis of this thesis, and proposals and recommendations for further research.

2

PRACTICE THEORY, STRUCTURATION AND 'GREEN' LIFESTYLES

This chapter will reflect on what we know about individuals' behaviour and how this shapes lifestyles. The aim of this chapter is to outline how individuals in contemporary Western societies respond to the increasing awareness of the impacts of human behaviour on the natural environment. I will discuss how the inclusion of environment-related practices (ERP) in individuals' lifestyles is influenced and impacted by societal structures. It is important to understand what we know so far about the forming of ERP and lifestyles, and especially how situational circumstances have an effect on individuals' practices (Barr & Gilg, 2006). This is because the effect of situational circumstances has often been neglected in research into routinized behaviour changes. Situational circumstances, however, are a factor for business travellers who travel by order of their employers, and predominantly stay in places away from home. This chapter brings together literatures on ethical consumption, practice theory and structuration theory, to understand how practices and lifestyles are shaped.

The first part of this chapter focuses on how individuals shape 'green' lifestyles through their choices. A lifestyle can be defined as "a more or less integrated set of practices which an individual embraces, not only because such practices fulfil utilitarian needs, but because they give material form to a particular narrative of self-identity" (Giddens, 1991a: 81). Particular attention will be given to ethical consumption practices as a way for individuals to 'green' their lifestyles. To understand how individuals shape their lifestyles to include environment-related practices (ERP), and how structures influence this 'shaping', the second part of this chapter will focus on literature regarding social practices. After discussing how social practices and structures are understood in the literature, I will focus on one of the most relevant aspects of Anthony Giddens' (1984) writings on social practices and structuration. Giddens' understanding of the 'duality of structure', and his appreciation of work by Goffman on social encounters, allows for a discussion of the influence of *in situ* spaces on business travellers' behaviour.

2.1 The emergence of ‘green’ lifestyles

2.1.1 Climate change and sustainable development

According to the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC, 2007), the global emissions from greenhouse gases increased by 70 percent between 1970 and 2004, predominantly due to human activities. An increasing amount of carbon dioxide (CO₂), methane (CH₄), nitrous oxide (N₂O) and other greenhouse gases is emitted into the atmosphere (Woodward & Buckingham, 2008), which a large majority of scientists believes is resulting in an increase in global temperatures. Between 1990 and 2090 the expected increase of global temperatures is between 1.1 and 6.4 degrees Celsius (IPCC, 2007). Additionally, the global sea level is predicted to rise, and there is an increased chance of droughts, flooding, disease, and food and water shortages (DEFRA, 2013).

The evidence of the human impact on the natural environment is described as “overwhelming” (Stern, 2006: 4). The relation between human activity and environmental degradation has been widely discussed for many decades, arguably starting with Rachel Carson’s ‘Silent Spring’ (1962), in which she discussed the effects of pesticides on the natural environment. Other famous publications followed, including the Club of Rome’s ‘Limits to Growth’ (Meadows, Meadows, Randers, & Behrens, 1972), which showed the positive correlation between increases in population, pollution and the consumption of non-renewable energy sources, and the WCED’s ‘Our Common Future’, which introduced the term ‘sustainable development’ to explain how development should meet “the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1987: 8). These publications, and the popularization of the topic over five decades, have resulted in a growing number of individuals becoming aware of their personal impact on the environment (Barnett et al., 2011).

Climate change is a global concern which arguably is amplified by globalization, with individuals’ choices increasingly based on, or influenced by, global events. Giddens (1994: 4) understands globalization not only as an economic phenomenon or a “world system”. He states that it does not only concern global systems, but also the localities of individuals and their choices. Choices that shape individuals’ local lifestyles, like the consumption of clothing, foods or driving a car, can have an influence on ecosystems and individuals on the other side of the world (Massey, 1994, 2005). Globalization has a major impact on what Giddens (1994) calls ‘detraditionalization’. The post-traditional society is not free of traditions, but rather questions the existence of each tradition. This means that individuals

are forced to reflect more on their lifestyles, and are only accepting a limiting role for traditions to guide their lives.

2.1.2 Detraditionalization and individualisation

Contemporary society is increasingly becoming a detraditionalized society. Giddens (1991a) argues that while a particular lifestyle was ‘handed down’ in more traditional societies, in contemporary society individuals adopt and shape their lifestyle by making choices. As Brand and Reusswig (2006: 84) point out, this loss of tradition has resulted in differentiations of lifestyles based on “the spread of mass consumerism, development of the welfare state, removal of educational barriers, urbanisation, progressive commercialisation, spread of mass media, mass migration, increasing mobility and tourism, etc.”.

It has been argued that detraditionalization has led to a re-emergence of individuals’ responsibilities for the decisions they make (Bauman, 1993, 2000). This increased responsibility is arguably worrying since contemporary societies are increasingly shaped around ‘unknown’ variables which make it hard for individuals to assess impacts. As Beck (1992a, 1992b, 2006) has extensively discussed, contemporary society is a risk society where the unknown and unintended consequences of human actions are becoming a dominant force. Experts cannot comprehensively predict or solve current issues like climate change. For that reason, individuals are increasingly mistrusting expert institutions like governments, corporations, mass media, and the military (Beck, 2006). Although many individuals around the world have some ‘faith’ in expert systems (Giddens, 1991b), like transportation networks which fly or drive people to the places they want to visit, or the facilities that provide people in most developed countries with sanitation, electricity, gas, and clean drinking water, the risk society has provided the realisation that experts’ rules and principles fail to completely dissolve the responsibility of individuals. It can be argued, then, that individuals are increasingly (made) aware of the consequences of their actions and are expected to take responsibility for them (Bauman, 2000; Giddens, 1991a). This means that individuals are “peremptorily invited to constitute themselves as individuals: to plan, understand, design themselves and act as individuals”, a social process referred to as ‘individualization’ (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2001: 3).

Through their lifestyles, each individual is expected to shape narratives which correspond to his or her biography (Giddens, 1991a), and because of detraditionalization and individualization, these biographies have become open to individuals’ choices and decisions. Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2001: 3) refer to this as individuals’ ‘elective

biographies', 'reflexive biographies' or 'do-it-yourself biographies'. While individuals are given the freedom to shape their lifestyles as they see fit (within certain boundaries and structures of course), it also, however, constitutes the risk of making wrong choices and having to deal with unwanted consequences. Environmentally conscious individuals who make the decision to accept a job which involves frequent flying, for example, have to live with the realisation that their flying practices have a detrimental effect on the natural environment. Elective biographies are, therefore, also 'tightrope biographies', which can turn into 'breakdown biographies', the latter being a biography marred with unwanted consequences (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2001). In the case of a business traveller who wants to fly less, this could mean that they will lose their job and could result in subsequent financial misfortune.

2.1.3 Ethical consumption

Through detraditionalization and individualisation, individuals are increasingly forced to make choices, and the media plays a crucial role in this. Through electronic and printed media, individuals' knowledge of available options is increasing. Shaping a coherent lifestyle, or self-identity, is a "reflexively organised endeavour" (Giddens, 1991a: 5). All options, and the decisions made, need continuous filtering and reflecting. Particularly relevant to this thesis is how the world media has provided individuals with knowledge about global and 'distant happenings' (Beck, 1992b), and how it has resulted in a growing interest in long distance moral decision making, and an increasingly society-wide concern about climate change.

A prominent way of reducing the individual impact on the environment is through changes in consumption patterns (Maniates, 2009). Some contemporary consumers use their consumption patterns to form a self-identity and to put this identity on show for others (Giddens, 1991a; Shaw, Shiu, & Clarke, 2000; Sparks & Shepherd, 1992). Through choices, individuals shape identities which conform to the particular lifestyle they are living. The activity of consuming is generally understood as integral to the continuation of the lives individuals are engaged in (Soper, Ryle, & Thomas, 2009; Warde, 2005). Consumption should not solely be understood as going to a shop or restaurant to purchase material goods, but rather "as a process whereby agents engage in appropriation and appreciation, whether for utilitarian, expressive or contemplative purposes, of goods, services, performances, information or ambience, whether purchased or not, over which the agent has some degree of discretion" (Warde, 2005: 137). Hence, business travel can be perceived as the compilation of a plethora of consumption activities, from flying and staying in a hotel, to

using the hotel laundry service, having a meal in a restaurant, or buying a sandwich in the local shop. The ‘degree of discretion’ Warde refers to means that individuals have a choice; a choice to make a decision on whether to fly and which flight to take, or in which hotel to stay, and whether to take a taxi or public transportation to go to a meeting. It should be noted, however, that the degree of discretion can fluctuate, and in the case of business travellers, decisions on their travels can be made by their employers rather than the individual traveller, as I will discuss in the next chapter.

It has been argued that consumers are increasingly using their choice as a ‘vote’ (Barnett et al., 2011; Lewis & Potter, 2011). In the predominantly Western literature on ethical consumption, scholars argue that consumption is a political process whereby consumers are expected to make decisions on the ethicality of the products offered to them (ibid). For some this is a positive development, while others argue that the consumer market is not the political arena it is increasingly portrayed to be. The latter group of scholars argues that ethical consumption is a very restrictive form of ‘voting’. Individuals are faced with the responsibility of tackling grave issues like poverty, inequality, environmental destruction, and are encouraged to ‘solve’ these problems through their shopping behaviour, rather than through traditional, and arguably more legitimate, political means such as voting for, or becoming involved with, a political party, campaigning for causes close to one’s heart, or supporting co-operatives (Littler, 2011). Furthermore, ethical consumption only gives a vote to those people that have the monetary means to make choices about what to buy, and is therefore an undemocratic form of political engagement (ibid). Finally, rather than considering a less materialistic lifestyle, which is proposed by Soper (2004; Soper et al., 2009) in her work on ‘alternative hedonism’, ethical consumption encourages the continuation of consumption. Connolly and Prothero (2003: 282) argue that many consumers do not want to stop consuming out of fear of missing out, and that consumers perceive cutting back on consumption as a “cold and dark place”, which makes ethical consumption an appealing alternative.

More positively, some scholars have argued that ethical consumption is a response to individuals’ diminishing trust in state politics (Lewis & Potter, 2011). ‘Voting’ through consumption is perceived as a non-confrontational alternative to politics (Maniates, 2009) which can be used as a ‘lever for change’ (Littler, 2009) towards a more equal and sustainable society. Ethical consumers “are concerned with the effects that a purchasing choice has, not only on themselves, but also on the external world around them” (Harrison,

Newholm, & Shaw, 2005: 2), and can use their shopping behaviour for the greater good. However, it is important to note the significant limitations of this approach.

When understanding consumption as a vote, it could be argued that consumers are ‘voting’ for a range of causes, like political, religious, environmental, social or spiritual issues (Harrison et al., 2005; Littler, 2009). This thesis does not discuss these different issues, but rather focuses on one: the environmental sustainability issue. The idea of considering one’s environmental impact has seen a significant increase in popularity over the past decades, with the result that individuals are increasingly embedding ERP in their lifestyles. This can be seen in the UK, for example, with major increases in spending between 2009 and 2010 on products such as green cars (128% increase), Fair Trade products (35%), sustainable fish (16%), energy efficient appliances (8%), ethical cosmetics (8%), ethical investments (9%), and green energy (15%) (The Co-operative Group, 2011).

2.2 Lifestyles and practice theories

2.2.1 Social practices

What is important from Giddens’ definition of a lifestyle is his focus on practices. He explains how a lifestyle is a collection or set of practices; a notion which requires further explanation. Practice theory, and practices as its central concept, has emerged as a result of the discontent felt by twentieth-century ‘culturalists’ of the applicability of two main classical social philosophies in explaining individual and societal behaviour (Reckwitz, 2002). The subjectivist theory perceived individuals’ behaviour as ruled by utilitarian self-interest (the *homo economicus*), with social order being a product of the combination of single interests. Contrastingly, the objectivist theory perceived individuals’ behaviour as ruled by social norms (the *homo sociologicus*), which means that social order is guaranteed through a normative consensus. As Reckwitz (2002: 246) points out though, both of these perspectives “share a common ‘blind spot’: They both dismiss the implicit, tacit or unconscious layer of knowledge which enables a symbolic organization of reality”. In other words, it is this knowledge that determines what desires are in need of fulfilment and which social norms are legitimate. To fill the void between these established philosophies, then, many social theorists have discussed the topic of ‘social practices’. Instead of purpose-oriented or norm-oriented models of social order, practice theorists highlight “the significance of shared or collective symbolic structures of knowledge in order to grasp both action and social order” (ibid). There is a plethora of discussions on social practices, including from eminent scholars such as Bourdieu, Giddens, Foucault, Latour, Taylor and

Schatzki. All scholars have provided their own understanding of social practices, resulting in the absence of an agreed theory.

Practices, the central element of social practice theory, are explained by Reckwitz (2002) through a utilization of the difference found in the German language between ‘Praxis’ and ‘Praktiken’. He states:

“‘Practice’ (*Praxis*) in the singular represents merely an emphatic term to describe the whole of human action (in contrast to ‘theory’ and mere thinking). ‘Practices’ in the sense of the theory of social practices, however, is something else. A ‘practice’ (*Praktik*) is a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, ‘things’ and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge. A practice – a way of cooking, of consuming, of working, of investigating, of taking care of oneself or of others, etc. – forms so to speak a ‘block’ whose existence necessarily depends on the existence and specific interconnectedness of these elements, and which cannot be reduced to any one of these single elements” (p. 249-250).

As this definition shows, individuals’ actions should not be understood as single activities, but rather as a group or set of activities, which together form a practice. From this definition, and as already discussed in the previous chapter, I will draw two insights into individuals’ behaviour which are particularly relevant to this thesis. Firstly, practice theorists understand much of individuals’ actions as routinized behaviour, which is an important notion when considering that many practices which have an impact on the natural environment are routinized, and that routinized practices are often carried out habitually and, hence, are expected to be less susceptible to change. Secondly, practice theories explain how individuals’ behaviour is influenced by structures. Practice theory is positioned away from the subjectivist philosophy to explain that individuals do not live in a bubble, meaning that their behaviour is influenced by external forces. Practice theories, however, do not go so far as to perceive individuals as ‘dupes’ of the social system. Practice theorists rather argue that individual actors ‘utilise’ societal structures to shape their practices. The concept of structures as explained in practice theory is important as it helps us move away from the notion that the adoption of ERP relies solely on individuals’ attitudes and values towards the

practices. Both of these insights deserve further discussion, especially in regards to environmental behaviour and the ethical consumption literature.

2.2.2 Understanding practices as routinized behaviour

The routinization of behaviour helps individuals to navigate their way through the high numbers of choices they need to make on a daily basis, and protects individuals from having to consider each and every decision on a continuous basis, rather engaging in heuristic-based decision making (Devinney et al., 2010). Routines are shaped through repeat behaviour, where individuals find themselves repeatedly in similar situations and stop consciously deciding what action to take. As Giddens (1984) has argued, most routine behaviour is not directly motivated. Routines help individuals to be in a ‘comfortable mental state’ (Cohen, 2008), or using Giddens’ terminology, sustain a form of ‘ontological security’, meaning that individuals have “confidence or trust that the natural and social worlds are as they appear to be, including the basic existential parameters of self and social identity” (Giddens, 1984: 375). For individuals, who are expected to make a plethora of decisions every day, and who know that they are responsible for the consequences of their decisions, routines form a relatively ‘safe haven’, where choices are based on experience, and there is an ‘expected’ outcome. Individuals will attempt to sustain the ontological security of their lives, because this reduces the risk of the elective biography turning into a ‘breakdown biography’. Leaving aside the environmental impact of practices, this may mean that many business travellers will continue to fly, will book the same hotel every time they visit London, and will always take a taxi to meetings.

According to practice theories, individuals’ lifestyles are shaped through the routinized day-to-day activities they carry out. As Giddens (1991a: 81) explains: “Lifestyles are routinized practices, the routines incorporated into habits of dress, eating, modes of acting and favoured milieu for encountering others (...). Each of the small decisions a person makes every day – what to wear, what to eat, how to conduct himself at work, whom to meet with later in the evening – contributes to such routines”. Through routine behaviour (i.e. carrying out the same practices over and over) individuals adopt habits. Habits are automatic responses to specific cues, formed through repeat behaviour with a similar, satisfactory outcome (Verplanken & Aarts, 1999). It has been shown, for example, that transport choice is particularly susceptible to habits, with the personal car often favoured over other modes of transport for relative short distances (e.g. Aarts, Verplanken, & van Knippenberg, 1997; Solomon, 2009). Other behaviours, however, are often just as habitual, with flying to go on holiday, buying new clothes for special (or less special) occasions, having a hot bath after a

long day, disposing of waste, or leaving electronics running on standby 24/7 just some examples. These practices, to a varying degree, are environmentally damaging, and the higher the frequency of carrying out these behaviours, the more habitual they become and the harder it generally will be to change them (Verplanken & Aarts, 1999). This is not to say, of course, that pro-environmental behaviours cannot be habitual. As Page and Page (2011: 66) point out: “one might equally be in the habit of cycling to work, turning off lights and dutifully recycling,”

The notion that practices are highly routinized behaviours, and that many of these practices are environmentally damaging, is interesting in regards to the view of consumers as autonomous individuals (Southerton, Warde, & Hand, 2004). With individuals being expected to make choices, there is the expectation in much of the literature and amongst policy makers that individuals use their consumption practices as opportunities to ‘cast their vote’ (Barnett et al., 2011). As Southerton et al. (2004: 33) state: “there is a dominant conceptualization of the consumer which underpins strategies for sustainable consumption. It postulates autonomous individuals continually exercising choice and making decisions on the basis of their personal perceptions of needs and wants, subject almost solely to constraints of time and money.” This assumption is questionable when considering that many practices are habitual and, hence, not fully consciously undertaken. It follows that practices are often deeply embedded into lifestyles, and a change towards ‘green’ lifestyles means breaking habits which individuals are often unable or unwilling to break. This means that business travellers might not be willing, or might not see fit to change their practices. For example, taking a taxi is a routinized practice (at least partially) due to the convenience it offers travellers over taking public transportation, and flying business class can become a routinized practice because it provides travellers with a feeling of status. Because taking taxis and flying business class are routinized or habitual, business travellers might not reflect on these practices when attempting to change their behaviour to include more pro-environmental behaviours in their lifestyles.

2.3 The influence of structures on practices

2.3.1 The importance of researching structures

As was discussed above, practice theories understand individuals as knowledgeable actors who ‘utilise’ and ‘work (with)’ societal structures to shape their lives. It is important to give some attention to structure as understood in practice theories, because this provides an understanding of how individuals’ practices are shaped by their surroundings. At its most

fundamental level, Giddens (1984) explains structure as compositions of rules and resources. Rules can subsequently be divided into two categories: codes, which determine the meaning of things, and norms, which determine what is right and what is wrong. All practices are ruled by both of these categories of rules. Resources are the medium through which individuals can exercise social power, or in other words, the means to bring about change in other individuals' actions. Understanding structures as rules and resources, means that the structures that influence individual business travellers will change depending on the places they move in. Each geographical location and cultural context will have different societal rules and customs, and different rules and resources will apply to travellers' home environment than to the places they visit on their travels. Therefore, changes to practices do not only rely on the willingness of an individual to change, but also on the structures which enable or inhibit this change.

In research into environmental behaviour change, and the adoption of ERP into individuals' lifestyles, the influence of structures have not always been considered. Barr and Gilg (2006: 908) have argued that research into lifestyles has focussed on three key elements which influence individuals' behaviour: "the situational circumstances in which individuals are placed (including socio-demographic situation), the socio-environmental values individuals hold, and attitudes towards specific behaviours." Lifestyles are shaped by practices, which are based on a combination of these different elements. Research that attempts to examine how individuals can be encouraged to carry out pro-environmental practices focuses on individuals' environmental values and attitudes towards their environmental impact and towards changing their practices. This focus on attitudes and values, without considerations for structures, contributes to our understanding of environmental behaviour change, but particularly in the case of business travellers, who often find themselves in unfamiliar environments, attitudes and values alone might not determine their practices. Societal rules and customs in their home country or the country they are sent to, or the available infrastructure, are just some of the structures that can influence the practices that are carried out by business travellers.

2.3.2 Shortcomings of research into values and attitudes

Research has pointed out the shortcomings of research into values and attitudes. Important work on *values* has been undertaken by Rokeach (1973), Schwartz and Bilsky's (1987) and Schwartz's (1992). Rokeach (1973: 5) defined values as "enduring prescriptive or proscriptive beliefs that a specific mode of conduct (instrumental value) or end state of existence (terminal value) is preferred to another mode of conduct or end state". Rokeach

came up with value groups, and Schwartz and Bilsky have subsequently worked on testing and validating these value groups. These value groups have been used in research into ethical consumption (e.g. Shaw, Grehan, Shiu, Hassan, & Thomson, 2005) and environmental behaviour (e.g. Stern, Dietz, & Guagnano, 1995).

Research into *attitudes* is often based on the Theory of Planned Behaviour (TPB) (Ajzen, 1991). The TPB proposes that behaviour is a result of an individual's intention. This intention is determined by any of three factors: (1) the person's attitude toward a particular behaviour, and whether the perceived outcome is rated as 'good' or 'bad'; (2) the influence of expectations placed upon an individual's behaviour by referent others; and (3) the perceived behavioural control, which refers to the perception of the difficulty to carry out the practice (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980; Ajzen, 1991). While the TPB has been used extensively for research into human behaviour, there is widespread criticism firstly on the accuracy of the model and, secondly, and more fundamentally, on the utility of using attitudes to predict behaviour. Notable research by Shaw, Shiu and Clarke (2000), and Shaw (2005), has attempted to alleviate the former criticism by proposing additional predictors – 'ethical obligation' and 'self-identity' – to better predict how attitudes influence ethical consumption behaviour. The latter criticism has received more attention and is referred to as the attitude-behaviour gap (e.g. Carrington et al., 2010; Newholm & Shaw, 2007; Papaoikonomou, Ryan, & Ginieis, 2011). The attitude-behaviour gap often exists because of the reliance on a cognitive progression in behavioural models like the TPB. This means that the model is based on the expectation that beliefs determine attitudes, attitudes lead to intentions, and intentions inform behaviour (Carrington et al., 2010). By making these assumptions, however, "there are two circumstances that may contribute to the overall disparity between attitude and behaviour – a gap between consumer attitude and purchase intent, and a gap between purchase intent and actual purchase behaviour" (ibid: 142).

The notion of a gap between attitudes and behaviour is well-established in the ethical consumption field, with Devinney et al. (2010: 56) arguing that it is "something of a trademark for the lack of validity in this field." Cowe and Williams (2000: in Papaoikonomou et al., 2011), for example, refer to the attitude-behaviour gap as the '30:3 syndrome', with their research showing that 30 percent of consumers claim to be ethical consumers, but only 3 percent actually buys ethical products. There is a similar gap between values and behaviour, referred to as the value-action gap (Blake, 1999). The value-action gap has received less attention than, and should not be confused with, the attitude-behaviour

gap, but similarly indicates that values are not necessarily a suitable predictor for individuals' actions⁷.

The shortcomings of attitudes and values to comprehensively predict behaviour have resulted in the conception that 'context' is an important influence on decisions and behaviour (Southerton et al., 2004). Belk (1975) refers to this as the situational context (see also Carrington et al., 2010, 2014), and distinguishes five overarching factors which have the potential to influence individuals' behaviour: 'physical surroundings' include the marketing environment, product placement and availability of competing products; 'social surroundings' considers the influence and roles of other people who are present; 'temporal perspective' points at time-related aspects such as time restrictions and time of day; 'task definition' refers to the individual's main purpose within the situation, and whether buying a product is the intended goal; and finally 'antecedent states' which include the individual's mood and possible constraints such as tiredness. Evidence from the ethical consumption literature has supported Belk's conception of the situational context and shows that consumers' decisions rely on factors like the existence of infrastructures of provision, the availability of time, or individuals' situated identity (e.g. Barnett et al., 2011; Kleine et al., 2012; Rode, Hogarth, & Le Menestrel, 2008; Varul, 2009). As such, and as Southerton et al. (2004: 7) point out, consumption is not solely connected to individuals' attitudes or utilitarian needs, but also to "the changing social, economic and technical organization of everyday life". This understanding represents a move away from viewing consumers as well-informed individuals who, through their rational and conscious decisions have the agency to initiate change, and towards consumption as a social practice influenced by societal structures (Sanne, 2002; Warde, 2005).

2.3.3 Constraining and enabling structures

As the above discussion on structures implies, structures are often perceived as constraining individuals' agency and choice. Giddens (1984) refers to Durkheim's writings on constraint to explain how there are three different 'forms' of constraints: material constraints, constraints associated with sanctions, and structural constraints. Firstly, material constraints

⁷ The findings for this thesis are also susceptible to these gaps, as the interviews are focused on business travellers' values, attitudes, and their reported behaviour. However, most ethical consumption research is based on interviews, focus groups and surveys, and, therefore, deals with reported behaviour (Carrington, Neville, & Whitwell, 2010; Devinney, Auger, & Eckhardt, 2010). As was explained in the previous chapter, through triangulation of interview data, and through participant observation, I attempt to improve the rigour and reliability of the findings.

can be found in the physical limits of the human body and the environment it inhabits. Human bodies are indivisible, have a life span which is not indefinite, and cannot occupy a place which is already occupied by another body or object (Hägerstrand, 1975). The second constraint is constituted in power; not the power of individuals to act in a specific way, but the power of others to sanction those that do not act in accordance with a specified norm. In relation to business travel this constraint seems particularly relevant when considering employers' rules which travellers are expected to conform to, and sanctions when this is not done.

Thirdly, Durkheim's (1982) structural constraint is derived from the context to individuals' actions. Here it is important to understand that structures exist because of the continuous repetition of individuals' daily lives, and that repetition has shaped lives for generations. The continuous flow of structures means that their existence precedes and exceeds individuals' lifetimes. Giddens (1984) refers to structures that are deeply rooted in time and space as 'institutions'. Because individuals grow up in a structural system which pre-existed their lifetime, structures are often seen as a constraint. Bourdieu (1984) has highlighted this by discussing how different 'class fractions' – different class-related social groups – form predispositions to aspects of social life like foods and music. According to Bourdieu, the social class an individual grows up in determines his or her acceptance of, or aversion to, certain actions and objects. It could similarly be argued that social *groups* affect behaviour. Group behaviour is characterised by "uniformity, ingroup cohesion, conformity", as well as "intergroup competition and discrimination, stereotyping, prejudice" (Hogg, 1992: 3). Being part of a social group means conforming to certain norms and expectations that shape and distinguish the group. These rules shape the group, but can also be perceived as constraining, since the structures are often older than any current members. In the case of business travel this is particularly clear, since the structures that shape business travellers' behaviour are older than the entry of any one employee to the labour market.

Instead of simply accepting that structures constrain individuals, Giddens (1984), however, argues that social structures are not simply restraining, but also enabling. He explains this by discussing the case of learning a language. While languages are rule-bound and, hence, constrain thought within these rules, he argues that "the learning of a language expands the cognitive and practical capacities of the individual" (Giddens, 1984: 170). He emphasises that the theory of structuration does not minimise the significance of structure's constraining aspects, but similarly proposes that structures have enabling capacities. This is a more 'positive' outlook on structures, and in this sense does not only assert that individuals are

forced to consider structures in shaping their lifestyles, but that individuals will often also 'utilise' structures to shape their lives.

Spaargaren and Van Vliet (2000) have proposed that the inhibiting and enabling effects of structures should be applied in research into ERP through their social practices model. Spaargaren (2003: 690) argues that "the responsibility of the individual towards environmental change [should be] analyzed in direct relation with social structure". He points out how structures of provision have provided consumers with more opportunities to buy sustainable or organic food. In contrast, environmentally sustainable long distance transportation modes are not widely provided to individuals and individuals' travelling choices are, therefore, more inhibited. Using Spaargaren's social practices model, Verbeek and Mommaas (2008) have investigated the potential role of societal structures on enhancing sustainable tourism mobility. They argue that transport modes are embedded in existing structures in the tourism market (e.g. most package holidays include flights), which means that "people are not focused on transport modes as such; rather, the transport mode is part of an overarching holiday practice" (Verbeek & Mommaas, 2008: 633). They conclude that a change in these structures is needed for tourism transportation to become more sustainable, and propose that tourists can change these structures through their role as consumers and citizens, by purchasing sustainable options and boycotting unsustainable alternatives. Their proposal that individuals can change structures is based on Giddens' (1984) concept of the 'duality of structure'.

2.4 The duality of structure and performances

I would argue that the main contribution of Giddens work on structuration, at least for this thesis, is the concept of the duality of structure. Giddens (1984: 374) explains that "the structural properties of social systems do not exist outside of action but are chronically implicated in its production and reproduction." This means that Giddens proposes that collective agency can result in a change of societal structures. This is similar to what Arthur et al. (2010) call 'incremental radicalism', where individuals can collectively and collaboratively change their behaviour to force a change in societal structures, through a process where the 'radical' becomes the 'mainstream'. I will discuss here how the notion of structure as a duality enhances individuals' ability to adopt 'green' lifestyles. To fully comprehend how Giddens understands the duality of structures, however, his appreciation of Goffman's work on social encounters should be highlighted first.

2.4.1 Goffman on social encounters and performances

Erving Goffman is one of the main scholars to have considered the influence of the social and built environment on individuals' behaviour. Goffman has devoted his entire scholarly career to the micro-level investigation of social encounters and co-presence. He states that almost all activities undertaken by individuals, especially in public places, involve other individuals. These other individuals, which can be referred to as an 'audience', provide individuals with constant discursive and embodied messages, which according to Goffman (1963) shape an individual's behaviour. He argues that individuals shape their behaviour like a 'performance' in accordance with the messages received from the audience (Goffman, 1959). Performances are staged to give observers an impression of the performer, and involve "an individual play[ing] a part" (1959: 28). The fact that individuals 'play a part' does not necessarily mean, however, that they are fully and consciously aware that they are performing. Goffman (1959: 28) explains that, "at one extreme, one finds that the performer can be fully taken in by his own act", while at the other extreme, "we find that the performer may not be taken in at all by his own routine." It depends on the intention of the performer and their attitude to the role whether he or she is consciously or unconsciously performing (ibid). As Park (1950: 249) states: "everyone is always and everywhere, more or less consciously, playing a role. ... It is in these roles that we know each other; it is in these roles that we know ourselves." This means that individuals can also be understood to perform when alone, without an audience and it is, therefore, questionable if a distinction between 'true' and performed behaviour can easily be made.

While individuals have a major impact on performances, Goffman argues that the spaces inhabited by individuals similarly have a significant impact on the performances exhibited. He highlights the importance of time and space when discussing how encounters are characterised by "temporal and spatial brackets" (Goffman, 1974: 251). With regards to space, he makes a distinction between 'front' and 'back' regions⁸ (Goffman, 1959), whereby front regions are spaces where performances are staged for an audience. These places are in contrast to 'back regions', which are places where "the performer can reliably expect that no member of the audience will intrude. Since the vital secrets of a show are visible backstage

⁸ The distinction between front and back regions, as proposed by Goffman (1959), should not be confused with the terms 'back-of-house' and 'front-of-house' which are commonly used in hotel businesses and hospitality literature. Areas designated as 'front-of-house' are areas where guests have access, and so where hotel staff (potentially) interact with guests. Contrastingly, Goffman's front regions are those where an individual performs for observers. Therefore, guests are performers in front-of-house areas, but hotel employees are performers in front-of-house areas, and also in back-of-house areas amongst colleagues.

and since performers behave out of character while there, it is natural to expect that (...) the entire back region will be kept hidden from [the audience]" (ibid: 116). Back regions are spaces where individuals prepare themselves for performances, and "where people's basic security system is restored, particularly through dissipating the tensions derived from the demands of tight bodily and gestural control in other settings of day-to-day life" (Urry, 1991: 165).

This distinction between front and back regions is particularly relevant for the research carried out for this thesis. With the research focusing on *in situ* practices, I am particularly interested in business travellers' practices in hotels, since there are places in hotels which travellers will perceive as front regions and other places which will be understood as back regions. In hotels the distinction between front and back regions is often similar to the division Goffman makes between public and private places. Public places are defined as "regions in a community freely accessible to members of that community" (Goffman, 1963: 9), which in a 'hotel community' entails places like the hotel lobby, restaurant and bar. Contrastingly, private places "refer to soundproof regions where only members or invitees gather" (ibid: 9), like hotel bedrooms. McNeill (2008: 384) states that hotels "are composed largely of extremely private spaces located adjacent to very public spaces." In the case of hotels, accessibility is an obvious difference between these spaces, with a room key warranting that only one or two individuals have access to the private bedroom. Public spaces are open to anyone and, hence, will often be occupied by more individuals, resulting in a difference between the expectations of performances in these different spaces.

Because back regions are generally private spaces, and front regions are public, performances will be most clearly visible in front regions. However, as stated before, while individuals might 'drop' part of their performance when in a back region like the hotel room, an easy distinction cannot be made between performed behaviour and 'true' behaviour (if 'true' behaviour even exists) based on the region or space an individual inhabits. Goffman (1963) argues that individuals will often stay into their role in a back region, because being unexpectedly discovered 'out of role' could lead to embarrassment. Back regions can turn into front regions without due warning, thereby catching an individual out if not still presentable. Giddens (1984: 126) agrees by stating that "the differentiation between front and back regions by no means coincides with a division between the enclosure (covering up, hiding) of aspects of the self and their disclosure (revelation, divulgence). These two axes of regionalization operate in a complicated nexus of possible relations between meaning, norms and power." He argues that individuals should not be

seen as purely performers when in front regions, because that would insinuate that the front is always a facade, and an inauthentic facade at that. Indeed, Giddens states that individuals may sometimes show their true self in front regions, although this might be an unwanted slip. Similarly, it could be argued that individuals also perform in back regions so as not to get 'caught out', or because one's self-identity is part of a performance to the self.

Giddens uses the understandings of individuals' behaviour as provided by Goffman in his writings on social practices and structuration. In his appreciation of Goffman's work, Giddens (1987) notes that studying social interactions at the micro-scale has the potential to provide an understanding of the institutional ordering of societies across time and space. Giddens (1984) notes, however, that Goffman has only dealt with transient aspects of social life (e.g. interactions and encounters), and never extended his work to the fixity of structures which shape individuals' day-to-day lives. While he asserts that Goffman has knowingly neglected to do this, Giddens (1987) argues that Goffman's micro-level investigations are extremely relevant to macro-level discussions of society⁹. He states that "the fixity of institutional forms does not exist in spite of, or outside, the encounters of day-to-day life but *is implicated in those very encounters*" (1984: 69, emphasis in original). In other words, Giddens states that routinized day-to-day practices are shaped by structures, but that by carrying out these practices, individuals are similarly reaffirming the existence of these structures. Giddens argues how "the structural properties of social systems are both medium and outcome of the practices they recursively organize" (1984: 25). Through social encounters and performances, individuals do not only shape their practices in accordance with structures, they simultaneously reinforce these structures. In the case of business travellers this means, for example, that by wearing a suit they not only conform to expectations of what a business traveller should look like (see Connell & Wood, 2005), but they also ensure that this expectation remains in place. Similarly, hopping on a plane for an afternoon meeting shows a traveller's audience how he or she can deal with the hypermobile¹⁰ and itinerant lifestyle associated with being a business traveller, and enhances the self-image of travellers by feeling so important that their employer is willing to spend significant money for him or her to be at the meeting in person. It also, however, reaffirms

⁹ Giddens actually argues against using the terms 'micro' and 'macro' to distinguish between studies, because this division implies that researchers need to choose between them, and that one might be better than the other. He furthermore feels that 'micro-sociological' research is often expected to be concerned with the 'free agent', while 'macro-sociological' is expected to concern the inhabiting factors of societal structures (1984: 139-144).

¹⁰ Hypermobility refers to a high amount of travel in a short period of time (Becken, 2007).

and re-enacts the linkages between business and face-to-face meetings, and that the airplane is the transportation mode of choice for time-pressured business travellers.

2.4.2 *Individuals' agency to change structures*

What Giddens (1984) and Arthur et al. (2010) argue, is that individuals have the agency to change the structures which seem to 'force' them into particular practices. This includes structures like, for example, the corporate (and societal) expectation that business travellers wear smart clothing (a suit or office dress) and the environmentally damaging expectation that business travellers take taxis to meetings. Giddens (1984) perceives agency as an individual's *capability* to undertake an action, thereby deviating from the notion that agency is linked to *intention*. By choosing to focus on capabilities instead of intentions, Giddens allows for a better understanding of individuals' power to change structure. After all, intentions could differ significantly from actual behaviours, especially when intentions clash with or contest established structural properties. He (1984: 9) explains that "agency concerns events of which an individual is the perpetrator, in the sense that the individual could, at any phase in a given sequence of conduct, have acted differently." This means that agents are able to intervene in structural processes, or indeed choose to refrain from doing so and comply with the pre-existing structural properties that are present. Business travellers, in that sense, might perceive to have a higher capability to change the means of mobility they use at the travel destination rather than the means to get to the destination. They might, therefore, decide to comply with pre-existing structures which expect them to fly to travel destinations, but might decide to disregard the structurally embedded behaviour of taking a taxi to meetings, and instead walk or take public transportation. Similarly, business travellers can decide to refrain from carrying out practices which are allowed or encouraged by the structures in hotels, like getting fresh sheets and towels on a daily basis, or taking excess amounts of food from the breakfast buffet.

Some criticism of Giddens' work on structuration has focused on his conception of agency, especially relating to the constraining aspects of structures, meaning that individuals have greatly restricted or no agency. I am highlighting this criticism of Giddens' work, because it is particularly relevant to the research I have undertaken into the agency of business travellers. When discussing situations that have "an apparently 'inevitable' look to them", Giddens (1984: 178) argues that agents will have very few *options* and very limited *feasible* alternatives, with 'feasible' being a relative term depending on the willingness of an actor to consider the options to change current practices. By using the terms *options* and *feasible*, Giddens allows individuals to always have a form of agency, because they can choose an

unfeasible option. In Harker et al. (1990), a group of scholars argue that an individual with only one feasible option actually has *no* option but to carry out that one option. They state: “to be an agent one must have choices, and if structural constraints reduce an individual’s options to one, then it is fairly clear that agency can no longer be invoked” (The Friday Morning Group, 1990: 203).

I would argue that the authors correctly point out that for most individuals ‘one feasible option’ equals ‘no option’. Giddens, however, stresses that he perceives agents as rational decision-makers who are knowledgeable actors that know what the preferred outcome of their actions is. This means that actors might find themselves in situations where there is only one *feasible* option which results in the preferred outcome, but it does not necessarily mean that this is the only option. One feasible option, therefore, does not equal *no* option, since there will be other options which are perceived as *unfeasible* to rational actors, but are options nonetheless.

Although Giddens’ conception of feasible and unfeasible alternatives is helpful, the idea that decisions regarding the feasibility of alternatives are based on the rationality of the actor is arguably wrong. Ethical consumption literature (including some studies discussed above) has shown over and over that ‘emotional’ factors like guilt, anger and pride influence decision-making (e.g. Barnett, Cafaro, & Newholm, 2005; Bray, Johns, & Kilburn, 2011; Shaw & Clarke, 1999). Similarly, business travellers’ perception of status, their stressful state of being and their potential feeling of homesickness contribute to decision-making (Ivancevic et al., 2003), and these are highly emotional factors. This thesis will therefore firstly research how structures inhibit or enable business travellers to carry out ERP, and the opportunities for traveller to change these structures; and secondly if and how the mental and emotional state of business travellers influences their practices and their compliance with, or defiance of, structures.

2.5 Concluding remarks

This chapter has explained how individuals are increasingly carrying out ERP in an attempt to shape ‘green’ lifestyles. It was explained that lifestyles are understood as sets of practices, with practices being routinized behaviours which are influenced by structures. One of the main outcomes of the review is the understanding that practices are not solely determined by individuals’ attitudes or values. Societal structures and inhabited spaces have been argued to have a considerable impact on individuals’ practices. Using Giddens’ explanation of

structure, it was explained how structures should be conceived as rules and resources, and how structures change depending on the places inhabited. Using practice theories, and predominantly Giddens' structuration theory, it was shown that individuals' practices are embedded in the society they are a part of.

Giddens' (1984) structuration theory provides a number of key insights into the practices of individuals, and the influence of their surroundings, which will be used throughout this thesis. It was shown in this chapter how Giddens explains that structures are often perceived as inhibiting or constraining individuals' choices. In the case of business travellers this means that, for example, travellers might feel that flying is part of their job and that they have no option but to take part in flying practices. Giddens, however, argues that individuals shape the structures that potentially inhibit their choice, by complying with these structures. In a process that he calls the 'duality of structure', he proposes that structures are shaped by individuals who continuously reaffirm them, and that individuals have the agency – the capacity – to change structures by disregarding structures and changing their practices. There are, however, different degrees of agency and choice and, therefore, this thesis focuses on changing *in situ* structures which are expected to offer business travellers greater degrees of agency, rather than focusing on the structures which, for example, encourage or order business travellers to fly. In relation to environmental behaviour this means that by choosing to carry out pro-environmental practices at the travel destination, individuals have the agency to ultimately change the structures which originally 'forced' them to carry out environmentally damaging practices.

In this thesis I will *not* focus on the 'larger' changes like flying, which need a very strong commitment from the individual to change, but rather on 'smaller' changes which are easier to carry out for the individual and which consequences are less substantial to the individual's lifestyle. I will focus on these 'smaller' *in situ* changes, bearing in mind Arthur et al.'s idea of incremental radicalism, which argues that small changes can incrementally grow into more substantial changes to individuals' lifestyles and structural change in society.

3

CSR PRACTICES, THE HOSPITALITY INDUSTRY, AND CORPORATE CONTROL

This second conceptual chapter will focus on the influence that corporate structures and structures present in hotels have on business travellers' uptake of environment-related practices (ERP). Business travel is deeply embedded in societal and corporate structures, with business travel being an important practice and phenomenon for travellers, their employers and hotels alike. There is a proven positive link between international business travel and international trade (Kulendran & Wilson, 2000), and travel in general has a major financial impact on the travel and tourism industries and host destinations (e.g. tourism accounts for 10% of GDP in London (Visit London, 2004)). Business travel is furthermore a major expense for companies, especially those in the service sector (Collis, 2001), and many jobs involve business travel or exist in part due to business travel practices (e.g. employment in hotels, airlines, airports etc.). The structures that enable business travel are for that reason arguably deeply embedded into corporations and society.

The speed and convenience of flying is a fundamental aspect of contemporary business travel, and hence flying seems to have limited feasible alternatives beyond a push for technological advancements which might lead to a technical solution to reduce the environmental impact of airplane emissions. Therefore, leaving aside the admittedly bigger problem of air travel, this thesis focuses on practices over which business travellers might have more control: their practices when *in situ* at the business travel location. These practices include all routinized behaviours undertaken in and outside the hotel at the travel destination. Special attention is given to ERP like reusing towels and linen, taking public transportation, recycling, reducing the consumption of water and electricity, and staying in hotels with 'green' CSR practices. Corporate structures, and the structures that are present in hotels, can enable or inhibit these practices.

This chapter, therefore, will focus on what I perceive as two main actor groups who influence business travellers' uptake of ERP through structures: business travellers' employers and hotels. With business travellers spending much of their *in situ* time in hotels, I will start this chapter by outlining literature on hotels' attempts to implement CSR practices in their operations. A discussion of the reasons for hotels to implement such practices will lead me to briefly outline the history of the commercial hospitality industry,

and the importance of guest expectations on operations in contemporary hotels. This is followed in the second part of this chapter by a discussion of the attempts of, and opportunities for, employers to control or influence the practices of their travelling employees.

3.1 Hotels and the implementation of CSR practices

When discussing research into the influence of hotels on business travellers' ERP, it is important to note from the outset that this is not a unidirectional relationship: hotels are also influenced by business travellers and other guests. Indeed, most research to date does not focus on hotels' CSR practices and their influence on guests' behaviour, but rather on the influence guests have on hotel operations. There is a plethora of studies which have attempted to establish the selection or satisfaction criteria which are important for guests booking and staying at hotels. This is important research for hotel managers because it can provide an insight into the factors that they should focus on to get satisfied guests. Most of these studies are not solely focused on business travellers (also on leisure travellers) and provide a wide range of selection factors that influence guest satisfaction (e.g. Chu & Choi, 2000; Knutson, 1988; Lewis & Chambers, 2000; Lockyer, 2002; McCleary, Weaver, & Hutchinson, 1993; Taninecz, 1990; Xue & Cox, 2008). These studies highlight the importance of cleanliness, location, room standard, safety and security, and the standard of service (see Appendix A for a list of studies into satisfaction factors), while, to my knowledge, CSR practices have not been mentioned in any of these studies. The amount of studies researching selection factors, however, *does* give an insight into the importance of guest satisfaction and guest experiences for the hospitality industry. This focus on guest experiences and guest satisfaction is deeply embedded into the history and success of the hospitality industry. An understanding of the historical rise of commercial hospitality is important to understand the contemporary implementation of CSR practices in hotels.

3.1.1 The rise of commercial hospitality

While hospitality is arguably as old as mankind (O'Connor, 2005), this thesis is not the place to go through the entire history. One aspect of hospitality that has been important throughout history, and has been an important issue of discussion, however, is the generosity of the host. The Oxford Dictionary defines 'hospitality' as "friendly and generous behaviour towards guests" (Hornby, 2000: 628), with 'generous' meaning "willing to give freely" (Hornby, 2000: 535). In early Western societies, domestic hospitality (i.e. hospitality in the home) would be offered by the host, who would try to be as generous as

possible. Reasons for this generosity were expectations of reciprocity on their own future travels, Christian virtues (Kerr, 2002), and a fear of the stranger¹¹ (Wood, 1994). Hosting a stranger or party of travellers, however, could arguably also be seen as a break for the host from boredom and a mundane life. Furthermore, generosity could also profit the host. With wealth and power came a social obligation, which was seen as “the natural order of things” (Lashley, 2000: 6). Members of society that ignored their social responsibilities to guests would be humiliated and might even lose their power (Heal, 1990). On the other hand, fulfilling the duties of hospitality could provide riches and reputation, especially when hospitality was offered to the affluent as it could help raise the host’s status (Selwyn, 2000).

This means that giving hospitality to the affluent was strived or hoped for, but Heal (1990) argues that in early modern England (circa 1400 to 1700) it was expected from householders to offer altruistic giving to *all* strangers, without making a distinction between individuals. This selfless giving, closely related to Derrida’s (2000) ‘absolute hospitality’, was supposed to be equally provided to family, friends, neighbours and strangers, either rich or poor, without asking for anything in return. Derrida notes that absolute hospitality “requires that I open up my home and that I give not only to the foreigner (provided with a family name, with the social status of being a foreigner, etc.), but to the absolute, unknown, anonymous other, and that I *give place* to them, that I let them come, that I let them arrive, and take place in the place I offer them, without asking of them either reciprocity (entering into a pact) or even their names” (2000: 25, emphasis in original). Whether this always happened is questionable, and in any way, despite the generosity of the host, domestic hospitality was often characterised by discomfort, a lack of privacy and poor facilities. Guests, however, were not expected to complain about any of these factors, since they initiated the visit themselves (Darke & Gurney, 2000).

Next to domestic hospitality, commercial accommodation has been offered in Europe from at least the Roman times, although to different extents throughout the centuries. Many of the commercial accommodation establishments that existed from the Roman reign closed during the Early Middle (or Dark) Ages, due to barbarian invasions, which made travelling on the road increasingly dangerous (Dittmer, 1992; Lockwood & Jones, 2000). This resulted in a sharp decline in travel, and people who still travelled tended to use domestic hospitality and

¹¹ Wood (1994: 737) explains how a fear of strangers increased generosity by paraphrasing Muhlmann (1932: 643): “Strangers are feared because they appear as bearers of magical and/or mystical powers. Hospitality ‘represents a kind of guarantee of reciprocity - one protects the stranger in order to be protected from him’.”

monasteries to spend the night (ibid). From around the fourteenth century, when roads became safer again, increasing amounts of people started travelling, which put a strain on monasteries and domestic hospitality. Specialist inns originated, offering accommodation in return for money (Walton, 2000). In England, the commercial hospitality industry got a further boost when King Henry VIII started a religious reform and closed all monasteries in 1539 (Dittmer, 1992; Lockwood & Jones, 2000). Although domestic hospitality was still offered in the sixteenth and seventeenth century in England, by that time it was generally only offered by the richer population. With a growing population and expanding trade (Clark, 1983), the obligation of domestic hospitality eventually fell into decline and was taken over by commercial establishments (Walton, 2000).

3.1.2 Debating the nature of hospitality

With an increase in commercial accommodation providers has come a discussion of different ‘forms’ of giving hospitality. Many academics have argued that there is a division between ‘true’ (domestic) hospitality and ‘commercial’ hospitality (Brotherton & Wood, 2000; Darke & Gurney, 2000; Lashley, 2000; Lockwood & Jones, 2000; Murray, 1990; Telfer, 2000; Wood, 1994). Wood (1994: 738), for example, argues that “hospitality is no longer about the personal giving of the host’s own food and accommodation but a matter of impersonal financial exchange.” Heal (1990: 1) notes that the term ‘hospitality industry’ implies a “paradox between generosity and the exploitation of the market-place”, and Telfer (2000: 40) argues that commercial hospitality is a contradictory term: “the location of it is not a home, the hospitality is not given, the guests are not chosen”. Other scholars argue that domestic hospitality was “more genuine and better” (Lockwood & Jones, 2000: 158) and the guest felt “genuinely wanted and welcome” (Lashley, 2000: 13).

The two major differences between domestic and commercial hospitality in hotels¹² discussed here are the location – the home versus a commercial purpose-built location – and importantly, the monetary value that has been given to the provision of hospitality. While hospitality in the domestic context was given in the hope of reciprocity, or even just excitement, hospitality in the commercial context was and is given for the return of money. By having companies providing the hospitality, it is argued that the generosity and hence the service diminishes, since hospitality needs to be provided, but only if the financial exchange

¹² I am aware that the hospitality industry does not solely consist of hotels, but also contains establishments like guest houses, serviced apartments, and bed and breakfasts. The focus of this thesis is on hotels, however, and I will, therefore, focus the discussion of the commercial hospitality industry in this chapter mainly on hotels.

allows it (Lashley, 2000; Lockwood & Jones, 2000). According to Lashley (2000: 14), hospitality is simply offered to “ensure guest satisfaction, limit complaint and hopefully generate a return visit while turning a profit”. This pursuit has an impact on the experience of the guest and fuels debates about the “inauthenticity” of the hospitality experience (Brotherton & Wood, 2000: 141).

3.1.3 The hospitality industry and guests' demands

Important for this thesis is the change in expectations by the guest. Commercial hospitality has a monetary value, which has shifted the traditional power relations between the host and the guest. In domestic hospitality, much attention was given to treating the guest well, as well as the guest being respectful to the host, because the roles could be reversed in the future – the host could become guest and the guest could become host (King, 1995). This mutual respect was based on cultural codes and expectations and the understanding that when travelling, one is in a vulnerable position. In the commercial sphere, however, the guest is not expected to return the hospitality to the host at a later stage. Lashley (2000: 14) explains how the monetary exchange has replaced reciprocity: “the guest rarely has a sense that roles will be reversed and that guest will become host on another occasion. The exchange of money absolves the guest of mutual obligation, and loyalty.” As Slattery (2002) argues, commercial hospitality in hotels is not about a relationship between host and guest, but between sellers and buyers.

This has shifted the power relationship; from host and guest treating one another as equals, to a power relation where the buyer holds power over the seller. In many locations, the contemporary buyer/guest can decide from a large range of accommodation types and classes, he or she can make demands (as long as they are paid for), complain and write a commentary on websites like Tripadvisor.com, and decide not to return. Instead of being concerned with being generous in offering safety, food and shelter, commercial hospitality is concerned with customer service, service quality and service delivery (Hemmington, 2007). Generosity is measured through terms like ‘guest satisfaction’ (King, 1995) and offering a ‘guest experience’, whatever this may entail (Hemmington, 2007). In other words, guests are generally measuring the generosity of the host as value for money (King, 1995). If the guest values the service as sufficient for the money paid, the guest will generally be satisfied and might return. If the guest believes he or she did not get value for money, the hotel will lose return business. In this way, it can be argued that similar to earlier times, the host can lose their reputation if complacent and not generous enough, although this occurs in a different way.

How 'generous' a hotel should be, is nowadays directly linked to the money paid for the hotel stay. In general, the higher the price paid for the service, the higher the guest's expectations and the higher the demanding power of the guest is (Darke & Gurney, 2000; Mars & Nicod, 1984). The first hotels were only for the richer classes, but increasingly lower classes wanted more luxury (and perhaps privacy) than was offered in inns and taverns, thus seeking access to hotels (Dann, 1996). By introducing a star rating system, hotels were able to openly show what sort of clientele they expected to visit their hotel. Nowadays, this system is still in place; in many travel hubs, travellers have a choice ranging from 5 star luxury hotels to budget hotels. Generally there is the consensus that more luxury is expected in a five-star hotel than in a budget hotel, for the simple fact that the money transfer is higher in the five-star hotel. As Darke and Gurney (2000: 81) explain, in lower-end establishments "the host would not be expected to offer the performance standards associated with a five-star hotel. In a top hotel the guest should reasonably be expected access to 'home' comforts and, in many cases much more." Mars and Nicod (1984) argue that it is the mid-range hotels (particularly 2 and 3-star hotels) that have the greatest potential for discrepancies between the ideal (the guest's expectations) and the norm (what the hotel offers). In these hotels it is unclear for the guest what to expect, and it is unclear for the hotel management what is expected by the guest. As they (1984: 38) explain: "On the one hand, some customers may be disappointed because they expect the kind of service normally associated with less prestigious hotels [like a more informal service]. (...) On the other hand, some customers may be disappointed not to receive the kind of service they associate with high-level establishments."

3.1.4 Reasons for hotels to implement CSR practices

The question that has been the focus of both academics and industry professionals is whether CSR practices are perceived by guests as part of a 'service', or whether the implementation of CSR practices is perceived as inhibiting the offering of luxury services. In other words, are guests expecting CSR practices to be implemented in hotels or not, and do these practices constitute a higher perception of luxury and service standards, or is the implementation of CSR practices perceived by guests as hotels' attempt to cut costs which will result in less luxurious hotel stays? There seems to be little clarity in answering these questions, as some studies report an increased awareness and expectation of CSR practices among hotel guests, while other studies counter this (Millar & Baloglu, 2011). Hotels, however, are starting to implement CSR practices for a number of reasons, although these implementations do not come without criticism. Here I will discuss the reasons and

criticisms on the implementation of CSR practices, before linking this to expectations from (potential) hotel guests.

There are different reasons for hotels to pursue environmental sustainability, based on factors such as a manager's disposition (Park, Kim, & McCleary, 2014), the location of a hotel (Bohdanowicz, 2006), or a hotel's chain affiliation (Bohdanowicz, 2005). Hotels could implement policies in response to public scrutiny, to enhance employees' job satisfaction and commitment, to improve investor relations, or for moral reasons (Rahman et al., 2012). Yet, particularly the financial benefits and increased competitiveness are often pointed out as primary reasons for hotels to implement sustainability activities (Claver-Cortés & Pereira-Moline, 2007; Kang, Lee, & Huh, 2010; Kim & Han, 2010; Molina-Azorin, Claver-Cortés, Pereira-Moline, & Tarí, 2009; Rahman et al., 2012; Segarra-Oña, Peiró-Signes, Verma, & Miret-Pastor, 2012; Tarí, Claver-Cortés, Pereira-Moline, & Molina-Azorin, 2010).

Broadly speaking, there are three arguments in the hospitality industry, as in many industries, as to the long-term effects of CSR practices on the profitability of a company (Kang et al., 2010). The first argument is based on Milton Friedman's (1970) perspective, which states that it is corporate management's sole responsibility to increase profits for shareholders, rather than focusing on philanthropic endeavours. In line with his free market thinking, Friedman argues that companies that spend time and money on CSR practices will generally be less competitive. Secondly, there are researchers who believe there is no discernible relationship between CSR and profitability, and that there are too many other factors to establish the actual impact of CSR on profitability (Kang et al., 2010; Vogel, 2005). The final argument is along the lines of Freeman's (1984) stakeholder theory, with researchers arguing that CSR *does* have a positive influence on the profitability of a company. Advocates of CSR and the stakeholder theory argue that taking stakeholders' claims into consideration can enhance a company's sales due to an improved reputation, provide cost savings by reducing energy and water consumption, and it can dissuade negative actions by civil society or governments (Aguinis & Glavas, 2012; Bird, Hall, Momente, & Reggiani, 2007). Although companies that do not engage in CSR may have lower costs, in many cases they will have to deal with a different, arguably lower, 'demand curve' than companies that do engage in CSR (McWilliams & Siegel, 2001).

While there is still considerable uncertainty about hotel guests' 'demand' for CSR practices (Millar & Baloglu, 2011), there is no doubt that hotel managers are increasingly

implementing CSR practices. Some hotel managers might have normative reasons for the implementation of such practices, which was shown to be an important factor in the implementation of practices in SMEs (Spence, 2007; Tzschentke et al., 2004), while for others it reflects an enlightened self-interest, and for many it will be a combination of the two (Smith, 2003). There seems to be a growing understanding amongst hotel managers that certain CSR practices can result in considerable cost savings, especially in the case of building and utility costs.

The US building-certification organisation LEED, for example, found that constructing a building in accordance with their certification regulations would cost an extra \$4 per square foot in comparison with traditional building methods, but would generate a cost saving between \$48 and \$67 per square foot in 20 years (Tierney, 2007)¹³. Furthermore, by making minor changes in the construction, building management and use of technology, energy usage can be reduced between 20 percent in existing buildings and 50 percent in new buildings (ibid). Other research shows that water usage can be reduced by 40 percent, and better management of waste disposal can result in a cost saving of 25 percent (Hawkins, 2006). These are significant numbers when considering that the energy and water consumption per hotel room per day ranges from 15 to 90 kWh and 200 to 450 litres respectively (Budeanu, 2007). This includes 'direct' consumption like taking a shower or bath, but also 'hidden' consumption like laundry and flushing the toilet. Finally, intensifying legislation and regulation is persuading hotels to implement CSR practices. National governments and the EU are implementing ever stricter measures which impact hotel management in different ways. In the European Union, for instance, there are over 200 directives on environmental issues, incentivising environmentally sustainable behaviour (Middleton & Hawkins, 1998). For example, in London new buildings need to comply with strict sustainability targets, and an energy assessment, which states how the new building will reduce energy usage and will use renewable energy such as solar energy and combined heat and power, needs to be approved (Greater London Authority, 2013). Furthermore, waste disposal is strictly regulated, recycling is often mandatory for companies, and legislation on the usage of water can be expected to tighten in the future as resource management becomes more important. Outside London, hotels have to deal with increasing regulations on nature conservation, as governments try to prevent biodiversity loss and natural erosion, as well as try to protect local communities and cultural heritage from the negative impacts of tourism. Regulation, however, also directly incentivises sustainable

¹³ It should be noted, however, that this research finding is beneficial to LEED and, therefore, the objectivity is questionable.

practices, with alternatives to non-renewable resources like solar panels and combined heat and power becoming more and more appealing to hotels due to tax breaks (Hawkins, 2006).

3.1.5 Criticism of hotels' implementation of CSR practices

There is criticism about the level and focus of commitment shown by the tourism and hospitality industry in working towards sustainable development. Firstly, criticism centres on the focus of hotels' CSR practices. As was discussed in Chapter 1, CSR comprises economic, legal, ethical and philanthropic expectations placed upon companies by stakeholders (Carroll, 1979). The responsibilities are generally divided into economic, socio-cultural and environmental commitments, but in the hospitality industry the main focus has generally only been on environmental practices (Epler Wood & Leray, 2005). This 'skewed' approach to CSR means that important social issues are largely disregarded. Particularly in the hospitality industry, human rights and labour rights have often been neglected. While the London Living Wage campaign has made considerable progress in securing better wages for hotel employees in London (Dominiczak, 2012), the hospitality industry remains characterised by low paid jobs with high turnover rates (Houdré, 2008), and in some cases barring local communities from benefitting from tourism income by building 'enclaved' tourist resorts e.g. in developing countries (Bohdanowicz & Zientara, 2009; Edensor, 2001). As Mitchell et al. (1997) have shown using the stakeholder model, stakeholders have different degrees of power, legitimacy and urgency, which influences corporations' response to these stakeholders. This, however, means that stakeholders with little power or legitimacy are often neglected (Scherer & Palazzo, 2011), like for example low-paid employees who are easily substituted.

Further criticism has focused on the level of CSR practices. Leading European hotel chains have been accused of lagging behind comparably sized corporations from other industries in terms of implemented CSR practices (PriceWaterhouseCoopers, 2006), and according to Smith and Feldman (2003), the tourism industry more generally is one of the least developed industries in regards to CSR implementation. The current economic recession has furthermore lead many hoteliers to cancel or postpone major investments in CSR initiatives (Kang, Stein, Heo, & Lee, 2012). Many hoteliers decide to simply implement the measures that have low start-up costs, or those that can make a profit (Kirk, 1995). These CSR practices are mainly implemented in, and affect, back-of-house areas (i.e. areas where hotel guests have no access), rather than involving or encouraging guests to reduce their and the hotel's environmental impact. There are some exceptions, with hotels increasingly encouraging guests to reduce on their electricity and water consumption through

information stickers in the bed- and bathroom. The most commonly used practice, and often the only practice through which guests are encouraged by the hotel to take part in a CSR practice, is the towel and linen reuse programme (El Dief & Font, 2010; Goldstein et al., 2008; Shang et al., 2010). These practices can once again save the hotel considerably on costs for electricity, water and cleaning products.

3.1.6 Weak and strong sustainability approaches

This approach to sustainability, which is common among many hotels, can be referred to as a ‘weak’ sustainability, or light-green, approach. Weak sustainability can be seen as an extension to neoclassical economics (approaches focussing on markets regulated by supply and demand), based on the work of Robert Solow and John Hartwick, two neoclassical economists (Neumayer, 2003). The ideas of weak sustainability are based on the belief that it is not just natural capital that matters for future generations, but the *total* of both natural and man-made capital. This means that advocates of weak sustainability argue that it does not matter how many trees are cut or ecosystems destroyed, as long as enough roads or machines are build to compensate for this loss (ibid). In other words, as long as current generations produce as much man-made capital as they use or destroy natural capital, it will not leave future generations disadvantaged. In the political arena, the ideas of weak sustainability are represented by the blue-greens, also referred to as the light greens (Duffy, 2002). These relative conservative approaches pursue environmental protection within existing economic, social and political structures. Blue-greens argue that the free market is the most efficient system to allocate resources, and to maximise utility for the greatest number of people. There is the belief that increased consumption of resources will eventually lead to insufficient supplies of non-renewable energy sources, and hence an increase in the use of renewable energy sources and a decline in pollution (Duffy, 2002; Neumayer, 2003).

In contrast to the weak sustainability approach, there is a strong sustainability approach. Proponents of strong sustainability view weak sustainability as a first, but insufficient, step in the right direction. Where the strong sustainability paradigm essentially differs from the weak sustainability paradigm is the belief that natural capital is “non-substitutable both in the production of consumption goods and as a direct provider of utility” (Neumayer, 2003: 1). In politics, red-greens and strong greens align themselves with the notion of strong sustainability. The red-greens, often referred to as eco-socialists, argue that the impact humans have on the environment relies heavily on the society they live in and their role in this society. Bookchin (in Bookchin, Foreman, Chase, & Levine, 1991), for example, argues

that blaming a child and the President of Exxon Mobile with equal measure would mean one is being disproportionately punished, while the other is let off the hook. Instead of blaming individuals for their impact on the environment, eco-socialists lay the blame more with industries and elites. Proponents like Gorz (1980) argue that a break from the current capitalist system is needed to make radical changes towards sustainable development, and that an end to over-consumption is needed to sustain human life (Duffy, 2002). Red-greens and deep-greens significantly differ in their support of anthropocentrism. Red-greens support the belief that humans are the superior of animal species, whereas deep-greens are environmentally centred rather than human centred. While red-greens promote the use of the natural environment for human benefit, as long as no irreversible damage is done, deep-greens claim to do whatever needed to protect the environment. To many deep-greens, James Lovelock's (1995) work on 'Gaia', which argues that the entire planet is a living super organism which is self-regulating and self-organising, is very influential. According to Lovelock, humans should have an interest in preserving the health of the entire organism, and not just the human component. 'Natural capital' has an intrinsic value to deep-greens.

As can be expected, the weak sustainability paradigm is the most popular with the business community, but it has also been criticised as a business-as-usual approach (Littler, 2009). Corporations are argued to focus their CSR commitments on those areas which are beneficial to them, without considering areas which are harder to tackle or which are less beneficial (Epler Wood & Leray, 2005). To justify the focus of their commitments – which actions they are and are not taking – corporations and trade organisations will often define CSR in a way that aligns with their commitments (Crane et al., 2008; Wight, 2007). Corporations have furthermore been scrutinised over their efforts to block the implementation of social and environmental legislation, instead advocating voluntary approaches (Smith & Pangsapa, 2009). Blue-greens have had a considerable influence on global politics, having arguably stopped, for example, attempts to regulate corporations' environmental commitments at the 1992 Rio summit (ibid). Attempts to develop comprehensive global regulations on environmental mitigation were blocked by key UN members and private corporations. Instead, the World Business Council for Sustainable Development proposed a series of recommendations and non-binding guidelines, which has resulted in a reliance on self-regulation within corporations and co-regulation with civil society bodies (ibid).

3.1.7 Environmental certification schemes

These non-binding guidelines and recommendations, have resulted in the tourism industry in a plethora of environmental certification schemes which are based on self-certification (Font & Buckley, 2001), although exactly how many self-administered schemes there are is unclear. Smith and Feldman (2004) noted that effective monitoring or implementation mechanisms were not expected in the tourism industry for the foreseeable future. The sheer number of environmental certification schemes on offer and the way they are monitored is a point of continuous criticism. Font and Buckley (2001) show that there are over a hundred sustainability certification schemes for tourism and hospitality organisations, while Hamel (2002) found that there are more than 30 schemes for accommodation providers in Europe. Buckley (2001: 19) argues that “to be meaningful to a consumer, an ecolabel must be part of an ecolabel scheme, administered by a reputable organization”, but there are no universal guidelines which monitor these organizations and decide whether they are ‘reputable’.

Reasons for hotel management to commit to certification criteria could range from a concern about resource usage to using it as a marketing tool (Font, 2001). Hotels can improve their image through certification, make cost savings or use it as a response to consumer pressures (Chan, 2009; Font, 2001). The high costs involved with accreditation¹⁴, however, means that major hotel chains can afford to pay these fees, but smaller and family owned hotels often struggle (Font & Buckley, 2001). Importantly, the high amount of schemes also means that they become less recognisable and trusted by consumers, especially since each geographical region has its own certification scheme (Buckley, 2001).

3.1.8 Guest expectations and CSR practices

To my knowledge there have been no studies which have directly linked the influence of these criticisms on travellers’ and guests’ perception of CSR practices in the hospitality industry. Nevertheless, studies have attempted to research travellers’ expectations and perceptions of CSR practices. The issue with studies investigating guests’ perception of CSR practices, is that they are all based on reported attitudes and, therefore, the reliability is questionable (as was discussed in the previous chapter). Nevertheless, the research into demands for CSR has led to a divide between those who argue that contemporary hotel

¹⁴ As an example, these are the joining fees for two popular environmental certification schemes. The Green Tourism Business Scheme (GTBS, 2012) is a popular scheme in the UK, which charges a £75 one-off joining fee, plus an annual fee of £281 for a 25 bedroom establishment, or plus £600 for hotels with more than 200 bedrooms. Alternatively, Green Globe 21 (2013) is a global environmental scheme which charges annual fees of US\$1450 for a 25 bedroom hotel, and US\$5000 for hotels over 250 bedrooms.

guests demand and expect environmental practices, and those who do not expect guests to care. To the former group belongs research by, for example, Han et al. (2009) who found that amongst 371 US Americans, environmentally conscious individuals are more willing to stay in green hotels, to recommend them, and to pay more for their stay. Market research by the Intercontinental Hotel Group found that 38 percent of 6000 of their Priority Club members considered the environmental credentials of hotels before booking (Donoghue, 2010). On a more practical level, Shang et al. (2010) report that water conservation is a key concern for hotel guests, and Andereck (2009: 493) conducted a survey amongst 852 participants in the US, finding that a majority of nature-based tourists “felt that seeing environmentally responsible efforts, such as recycling bins or items made from recycled materials, were quite to extremely important.”

Other research has been less positive about guests’ expectations of CSR practices, with Watkins (1994) discussing a study which concluded that 73 percent of 489 surveyed frequent travellers viewed themselves as environmentally minded consumers, but only 54 percent considered themselves to be an environmentally minded traveller¹⁵. Butler (2008) argued that guests expect hotels to implement environmental practices, but stated that many guests have high expectations of luxury which might harm hotels’ sustainability efforts. He questions if “hotels still need to put out individual shampoo bottles, and [whether] the spa need[s] to smell faintly like chlorine to satisfy guests’ expectations?” (Butler, 2008: 240). Finally, it has been shown that individuals say that sustainable travel is important to them, but that they are not necessarily willing to pay extra to stay in a ‘green’ hotel. Kang et al. (2012) found that amongst a group of 455 US American participants, individuals with a larger disposable income, and especially those who said that they were willing to pay higher prices for their hotel stay, said they were more willing to pay extra for CSR practices than those with lower budgets.

As shown in the discussions above, at present, studies are inconclusive about the relationship between environmental or CSR practices, guest satisfaction, guest expectations and booking behaviour. On the one hand it could be speculated that the CSR practices in hotels are generally low-impact, and proof of a ‘weak’ sustainability approach. This could have resulted in a situation where these practices are of little importance to hotel guests. On the other hand, it is possible that hotels only implement practices that do not impact negatively on guest satisfaction and the guest experience, because there is little and

¹⁵ This discrepancy could point at a difference between travellers’ home and away behaviour, as was also mentioned in the previous chapter (see Barr, Shaw, Coles, & Prillwitz, 2010).

inconclusive evidence whether CSR practices are wanted or expected by guests. In this thesis I will question how these two actor groups influence the structures that are present in hotels. To do this I will aim to use Giddens' (1984) structuration theory, and his concept of the duality of structure. This should generate a better understanding of the influence of guest expectations on the implementation of CSR practices, and of the influence of CSR practices on hotel selection.

3.2 The influence of employers on business travellers' behaviour

The expectations and satisfaction of (potential) customers is important to any commercial company that bases its business model on the successful selling of goods or services. Hence, it is not just hotels, but also the companies that business travellers work for, that are potentially interested in CSR. Especially large companies are expected to report their CSR commitments to shareholders and stakeholders in reports, often referred to as a CSR or sustainability report. Most companies nowadays will furthermore use a corporate website to communicate their CSR commitments to a wider audience (I will return to the communication of CSR policies and practices in Chapter 5). This communication is not, however, solely focused on external stakeholders, but also on companies' employees. In the literature there has been limited discussion of companies' influence on their employees' *environmental* behaviour, but it has been extensively discussed how companies have an influence on employees' *ethical* decision-making (VanSandt & Neck, 2003; Vaughan, 1998). Every individual perceives ethical behaviour differently, because each individual has their own ideas of what is right and wrong. What is important for this thesis is the notion that behaving ethically means that a person not only considers him or herself, but also the external world she or he is surrounded by (Harrison et al., 2005). Using this definition, environmental behaviour should be understood as a type of ethical behaviour¹⁶.

In the previous chapter the inclusion of ERP in individuals' lifestyles was extensively discussed. Very little research, however, has been undertaken to investigate whether and how individuals carry out ERP in the workplace. This dearth of research could be attributed to limited understanding of, and research into, the impact of corporate rules or policies on employees' uptake of ERP. A small number of studies on recycling practices in the

¹⁶ It should be noted, however, that most research into ethical behaviour in the workplace does not solely focus on environmental behaviour but also considers issues like taking bribes or stealing from an employer.

workplace have provided some insight, showing how the absence of policies or facilities negatively impacted employees' recycling practices. Lee et al. (1995), Clay (2005), and McDonald (2011) all found that individuals recycled more of their waste at home than in the workplace. McDonald (2011: 63) found in a study amongst 220 households from Aberdeenshire, that individuals "could not recycle many materials at work because they either did not arise in a work setting or that there were no facilities to recycle them at work", which shows that companies can have a negative influence on the uptake of ERP. Research that focuses more broadly on ethical decision-making in the workplace, in contrast, has shown that an employer can have a positive impact on more general ethical behaviour. Higgins et al. (1984), for example, showed that the moral atmosphere in an organisation has a positive impact on moral reasoning and judgement by employees. Furthermore, O'Fallon and Butterfield (2005: 397) did a review of empirical research into ethical decision-making, and concluded that twelve of sixteen studies had found that "ethical climates and cultures have a positive influence on ethical decision-making," where a corporate culture can be explained as "a set of solutions produced by a group of people as they interact about the situations they face in common. These solutions become institutionalized, remembered, and passed on as the rules, rituals, and values of the group" (Vaughan, 1998: 37). A corporate culture, then, can be perceived as a corporate structure which shapes business travellers' practices. With consideration of the influence of company values on employees' ethical behaviour, I will discuss literature that is relevant to ethical behaviour and the uptake of ERP by business travellers.

3.2.1 Value congruence

While the communication of CSR commitments and ethical values can arguably influence employees' behaviour, the fact that a company's ethical values are not easily articulated and measured, and often are not experienced by employees until they have spent a while with the company, can result in a moral gap between an employer and employees (VanSandt & Neck, 2003). How close the moral values of an employer and employees are aligned is described as a 'person-organisational fit' (Elango, Paul, Kundu, & Paudel, 2010) or 'value congruence', with a greater value congruence meaning a closer alignment (Liedtka, 1989). It follows that the influence of corporate values on shaping employees' responses to ethical dilemmas is directly related to the value congruence. When the congruence between employees and the company is smaller, the differences between personal values and corporate values could lead to conflicts (Sims & Keon, 2000). This could include employees taking corporate supplies or making long-distance calls on company phones, but more relevantly also relate to employees' behaviour when booking a business trip. Mason and

Gray (1999) argue that the desire for status is an important aspect for business travellers, which leads to an expectation of flying in business class, as opposed to economy class, or staying in the higher-end hotels (Gilbert & Morris, 1995). Douglas and Lubbe (2010) found a high level of agreement from 193 surveyed business travellers when asked if it was important to fly business class, independent of whether their company allowed it. A conflict, then, is imminent here if a traveller's employer is requesting their employees to travel economy class rather than business class, be it to save money or to reduce the carbon footprint of their business travel¹⁷.

VanSandt and Neck (2003) proposed seven reasons for the existence of a gap between ethical values held by the company and its employees. Many of these reasons are related to business codes implemented by the management of a company, like a code of conduct, code of ethics or a travel policy. Business codes can be defined as documents "containing a set of prescriptions developed by and for a company to guide present and future behaviour on multiple issues of at least its managers and employees towards one another, the company, external stakeholders and/or society in general" (Kaptein & Schwartz, 2008: 113). Companies use business codes to relay to their employees how they are expected to behave in particular situations. Codes generally focus on topics like corporate governance, workplace issues, CSR and environment, workers rights and labour issues, ethical conduct, privacy, and prompt payment (Bondy, Matten, & Moon, 2008). The effectiveness of codes has been questioned (Kaptein & Schwartz, 2008), and VanSandt and Neck (2003) provide a number of reasons for this limited effectiveness. They argue that the wording in business codes is often ambiguous, that codes are often written to protect the organisation itself from employees' unethical behaviour, that there often is a discrepancy between the written code of ethics and the message that is conveyed by norms, values and rewards, and that codes are generally low in specificity to make them applicable in any situation.

Other reasons for a limited synergy between expected and actual behaviour of employees are provided by VanSandt and Neck (2003) as differences in the interpretation of the ethical culture in a company, a breakdown in communication between upper and lower levels of staff, and finally the discrepancy between different control systems in a company. Sims and Keon (2000) showed in their research containing 245 business students who were all in full-time employment, that there are not only formal policies that influence the employee, but also informal policies and the expectations from superiors. These informal policies and

¹⁷ A business class seat takes up more space on an aircraft than an economy seat, meaning that a business class seat contributes relatively more to greenhouse gas emissions than an economy seat.

expectations, together with formal rules and policies in business codes, form corporate structures which have the potential to influence business travellers' behaviour in the office and when at the travel destination.

3.2.2 Corporate control and its limitations

While there have been some exceptions, research generally finds that the existence of a business code which explains moral values of the company, enhances the ethical behaviour by employees (O'Fallon & Butterfield, 2005). It has, however, also been argued that the formulation of a business code alone is not sufficient (VanSandt & Neck, 2003). The formulation of a business code should come with further measures to monitor the compliance with the code. To reduce the risk of non-compliance, and to promote desired behaviour, companies utilise surveillance techniques and sanctions. Corporate surveillance involves collecting and storing information about employees, supervising activities through instructions or utilising the design of the built environment (like utilising an open plan office for surveillance amongst employees), and applying collected information to enhance compliance with rules (Dandeker, 1990). As Giddens (1984: 127) explains, surveillance is "the collation of information used to co-ordinate social activities of subordinates, and the direct supervision of the conduct of those subordinates". Corporate surveillance originated in the textile industries and was swiftly adopted in other industries, with employers pursuing greater predictability of production, minimization of product embezzlement and increased power, by making employees more reliant on the employer instead of the reverse (Dickson, 1974).

Two approaches can be taken in using information to force compliance: (1) punishing non-compliance after the event; or, (2) preventing non-compliance by devising mechanisms that ensure that potential rule breakers will not find themselves in a situation where rules can be broken (Dickson, 1974). Rule (1973) argues that considerable administrative support is needed for either of these approaches. The employer will need to know who are complying with rules and who are breaking them, and who is ultimately responsible for the non-compliance.

What is interesting in the case of business travel is that surveillance, and its administrative support, comes easiest in confined spaces, like a factory hall, which can be shaped into "a piece of turf where the boss rules" (Sayer & Walker, 1992: 120). Instead of taking place in a factory hall or office building, business travel takes place away from the office. Business travellers spend a lot of time in airports, airplanes, hotels and offices elsewhere. Especially

hotels have been referred to as liminal, or in-between, places (Pritchard & Morgan, 2006). This means that hotels are seen as “outside the ordinary of most people’s everyday social life, distinct from our normal place of home, which we leave behind when we travel” (Pritchard & Morgan, 2006: 764). Preston-Whyte (2004: 250) refers to liminal places as “intangible, elusive, and obscure” lying in a ‘limbo-like’ space. When in these places, direct corporate control and surveillance is often impossible because business travellers often travel alone. Even in situations where senior and junior staff members travel together, and senior staff members function as ‘supervisors’, the control over individual travellers can be expected to diminish in places like the hotel, where there are back and front regions (as was discussed in the previous chapter). Thus, when business travellers are away on their travels, corporate structures potentially influence the travellers’ behaviour less, whereas hotel structures might have a greater influence on their behaviour.

The practice of travelling and the character of inhabited places can have further effects on a company’s control over its travellers’ behaviour. The places in which business travel takes place – airports, airplanes, hotels, offices – are characterised by the large amount of people moving through them, without ‘living’ in the space, and are sometimes referred to as non-places (Lassen, 2009; Sheller & Urry, 2006; Urry, 2007, 2009). Non-places are argued to be spaces that are placeless, “where people coexist or cohabit without living together” (Urry, 2007: 146). This can be most easily explained by imagining being in a major airport on any continent in the world. While cultures are totally different in these places, the airports often look the same, feel the same, and function the same. Next to airports, other examples of non-spaces are supermarkets and shopping malls, but also business hotels (Urry, 2007). Lassen (2009) illustrates the idea of non-places by referring to travellers waking up in a hotel room and having to take some time to think where in the world they are, because all hotel rooms look similar. Business travellers experience ‘cocooned passages’ through non-places when travelling, with most cultural references removed (McNeill, 2008). Hence, international work trips will often have “a monotonous character” (Lassen, 2006: 307), referred to by Lassen (2009) as a ‘life in corridors’. Especially business hotels are described as monotonous, predominantly due to the expectations of guests (McNeill, 2008). Business travellers want predictability, a certain standard of service, and an anonymous form of hospitality, which incidentally leads to many hotels looking and functioning the same (Bell, 2007).

Having to stay in liminal or non-places might often be perceived as a negative aspect of being a business traveller. The practice of travelling is furthermore argued to be mentally

and physically strenuous, especially for ‘hypermobile’ business travellers (Faulconbridge et al., 2009; Lassen, 2006; Millar & Salt, 2008). Regular travellers have been found to often suffer from anxiety, emotional disconnection and depression (Elliott & Urry, 2010). Business travel is also a source of conflicts between obligations to work and obligations to the family. Lassen (2009) argues that the participants in his study coped differently with the stresses of a ‘mobile life’. He refers to the first coping strategy as the ‘career strategy’, where life is work, and work often entails a significant amount of travelling. An international orientation establishes the identity and self-conception of travellers in this category. The second strategy Lassen calls the ‘juggling strategy’. Here the traveller does not want to give priority to either his family or his work and travel. Their identity is based on a ‘glocal’ (Urry, 2003) outlook, with both international travel and local relationships an important aspect of the traveller’s life. The final strategy is the ‘family strategy’, where family is given a higher priority than travelling. In this case trips are carefully planned around family life. Again the identity is ‘glocal’, but in this case the local is trumping the global (Lassen, 2009).

To conclude, the mobilities literature highlights how business travel takes place in liminal and non-places, which are away from the confinement of the office and hence make it harder for employers to use surveillance techniques in an effort to control their travellers’ behaviour. However, as I will discuss next, the monotonous and stressful character of business trips also means that employers are not always looking to control their employees, instead allowing business travellers some freedom as a form of compensation for their strenuous lifestyle.

3.2.3 Business travellers’ freedom and agency

With travel expenditures being the second highest cost item in many tertiary sector organisations after salaries (Collis, 2001), many companies have travel policies in place to reduce their costs of travelling (Douglas & Lubbe, 2009). A travel policy works as a framework that details to business travellers, their supervisors and travel staff how travel is managed within a company (Rothschild, 1988). There are, however, external forces which potentially weaken the effect of these policies on employees’ behaviour. Douglas and Lubbe (2009: 98), for example, discuss how a global survey by flight schedule publisher OAG Worldwide found that “on average, employees violate the corporate travel policy on one trip in six.” It has been argued that loyalty schemes by airlines and hotel chains have particularly weakened compliancy, since some travellers could decide to purchase more expensive flights to increase their loyalty points (Campbell, 2002). Furthermore, and as discussed

earlier in this chapter, the desire to fly business class for comfort or as a status marker can potentially reduce compliancy with an economy-class-only policy amongst business travellers (Douglas & Lubbe, 2010; Mason & Gray, 1999).

There is, however, also a sense that companies refrain from implementing stricter rules and increased surveillance, because there is an understanding that business travel involves considerable strains on the physical and mental health of the traveller. By providing travellers with more agency and choice, companies might attempt to compensate for these strains. Furthermore, VanSandt and Neck (2003: 373) argue that employees will behave more ethically if provided with “the tools and authority to make operational and ethical decisions.” They note that giving employees the freedom to make choices will make employees recognize “their obligations to the firm and their rights as individuals” (ibid). One example could be to provide employees with a set budget to spend on location. This provides travellers with the agency over their own spending, and a choice as to what they spend the budget on (e.g. they could decide to spend their budget on more expensive dinners, or save the money to buy souvenirs and gifts for family members).

Another example is the agency to allow travellers to collect loyalty scheme points for personal use, as long as it does not lead to higher costs for the company (Gustafson, 2012). Collecting frequent flyer points could potentially lead to increased satisfaction amongst travellers. Douglas and Lubbe (2009) argue that satisfaction of business travellers depends on three factors: the satisfaction a traveller has with his or her life, with his or her job, and with the conditions in which he or she travels for the job. Generally, travellers have both tangible and intangible needs when travelling. Tangible needs refer to the conditions in which they fly and stay at the destination, which is why business travellers are often allowed to stay in high-end hotels and collect loyalty points (Gilbert & Morris, 1995). Intangible needs could include eliminating unnecessary trips, avoiding travelling during weekends and getting time off after a business trip (Douglas & Lubbe, 2010).

Business travellers are often also given a degree of freedom when choosing their flights and hotel. Lassen (2006), for example, found that the freedom of choice for business travellers is higher than is to be believed from some definitions. Lassen did research amongst travelling employees at Aalborg University and Hewlett Packard in Denmark, and found that 32 percent of employees at Hewlett Packard had ‘largely’ a free choice of their frequency of travelling, with another 41 percent having a ‘partly free choice’. At Aalborg University the number of employees having ‘totally’ or ‘largely’ a free choice to decide their frequency of

travelling was 72 percent. Mason and Gray (1999) handed out questionnaires at a major international airport (Stansted Airport), and found that almost 70 percent of business travellers could select their own flight. A few years later, Mason (2002) contacted companies that were major purchasers of air travel, and found that 52 percent of travellers could select their own flight.

It is evident, however, that there is a fine line between allowing travelling employees a level of freedom, and having travellers overstepping the mark set by their employers. Mason (2002) argues that many business travellers have a higher perceived freedom in making decisions about their travels than the employer had laid out in the business code. In this case travellers' 'sense of choice' (Kleine, 2010; Kleine et al., 2012) and their use of choice, or *de facto* choice, is larger than the choice they are supposed to have according to their employer. This means that business travellers feel they can make personally motivated decisions which go against the rules established by their employers (Gustafson, 2012). Further research is needed into how these discussions of corporate control and employees' agency relate to ERP at the travel destination. This was part of the remit of this study and is discussed in Chapter 8.

3.3 Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have attempted to build on the discussions in the previous chapter by outlining key bodies of literature which explain how corporate structures and structures present in hotels have the potential to influence business travellers' environmental and ethical behaviour. This chapter first focused on the hospitality industry and the implementation of CSR practices. By briefly discussing the history of the commercial hospitality industry, it was described how guest expectations and guest satisfaction have become fundamental to successful hotel operations. As was noted, most research undertaken up to now has focused on the influence of guests' expectations on hotel operations, rather than looking at the influence of hotel practices on guests' behaviour, or indeed on the combination of the two. In this thesis I will use Giddens' (1984) concept of the duality of structure to understand hotels' CSR practices as structures which can inhibit or enable the uptake of ERP. I propose that CSR practices should be understood as structures that are shaped and reshaped by both hotel employees and guests. This allows me to investigate the agency of hotel staff, business travellers and their employers to implement and change these structures. This will then provide an understanding of how the different actor groups researched in this thesis influenced each other's uptake of ERP.

The second part of this chapter focused on the influence of employers on business travellers' behaviour. While this thesis focuses predominantly on ERP, there is limited research on the influence of corporate structures on employees' uptake of ERP. Research focuses instead on the broader notion of ethical behaviour. It was discussed how research has found that a company can have considerable influence on its employees' ethical behaviour. Gaps in the literature, however, were identified in studies of business travel. There has been, to my knowledge, no research into ERP at the travel destination, or the influence of employers on travellers' ERP. The case of corporate control is especially of interest because corporate control is expected to be diminished when travellers are away from the office, but the effect of this diminished control has not been researched up to now. This thesis will aim to provide an insight into the control employers have on business travellers' behaviour, thereby contributing to filling some of the identified gaps.

4

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I will provide a rationale for the research methods which were employed for the empirical research discussed in this thesis. The discussions in this chapter will focus on providing an understanding of the processes I went through to collect the data which was required to answer the research questions. The research methods, then, were based on the research questions, which in turn were based on the gaps in the literature (as discussed in Chapters 2 and 3). As already introduced in Chapter 1, the research questions were as follows:

1. Do business travellers reflect on their travel-related practices in regards to environmental impacts? If so, why and how? If not, why not?
2. Do hotel management teams implement CSR practices to reduce their hotels' environmental impact? If so, which, and how are they communicated to stakeholders? If not, why not?
3. Do these three researched actor groups – hotel management, business travellers and their employers – influence each others' uptake of ERP (in the case of travellers) and implementation of CSR practices (in the case of hotels and employers)? If so, how and why? If not, why not?
4. Is there a link between travellers' embodied experience of business travel and the uptake, or not, of ERP when travelling?
5. Do spaces, particularly the hotel space and home space and their social construction and structural characteristics, have an influence on the uptake, or not, of ERP amongst business travellers? If so, how?
6. Are there barriers and constraints which prohibit business travellers from changing existing structures? If so, which and how can these constraints be lifted?

I will start this chapter by discussing the research philosophy, how the research populations – hotel managers, individual business travellers, and to a lesser extent their employers – were established, and how the research process was designed to include representatives of these three populations. To further triangulate the data gathered from interviews with these research populations, further data was collected through participant observation and website analyses. The research procedures will be discussed, focusing on the successful approaches

to collect data. This will be followed by a note on the effort required for this research, discussing a range of attempts to contact subjects, and how these attempts had mixed success rates. Finally, I will explain the procedures and tools used to record and analyse the data, and discuss issues around the ethicality of the research.

4.1 Research philosophy

Before discussing the research design and the methods used, it is important to consider the epistemological and methodological approach that is taken in this thesis. Epistemology is the theory of knowledge, and as such explains how knowledge is gained (Carter & Little, 2007; Hughes & Sharrock, 1997). Two classic approaches to gaining knowledge can be distinguished. Firstly, the largely quantitative tradition of positivism, and secondly the more qualitative interpretative approach, also referred to as constructivism (Henwood & Pidgeon, 1997). Each approach “is a collection of rules and evaluative criteria referring to human knowledge: it tells us what kind of contents in our statements about the world deserve the name of knowledge” (Kolakowski, 1997: 2). Positivism is based on notions of universal laws of cause and effect, and emphasizes that reality is shaped as objectively defined facts (Henwood & Pidgeon, 1997). The interpretative paradigm is based on the criticism of positivism, and is characterised by a focus on description, representing reality through the eyes of study participants, using qualitative methodologies to research meaning as constructed by research participants, and is attentive to “the importance of viewing the meaning of experience and behaviour in context and in its full complexity” (ibid: 16). In this thesis, I will take an interpretative approach towards knowledge. By understanding my research participants as social actors, I acknowledge that they are knowledgeable and give meaning to themselves, to others and to the social environment they inhabit. As Hughes and Sharrock (1997: 104) explain, social actors “can describe what they do, explain and justify it, give reasons, declare their motives, decide upon appropriate courses of action, try to fit means to ends, and so on.” This allows for an understanding of business travellers’ attitudes and practices, as understood through their eyes and interpretation, and as articulated by the travellers themselves in interviews. This research is thus a primarily qualitative study employing ethnographic techniques, especially participatory observation and interviews.

Next to the epistemology, it is important to explain the methodological approach used in this thesis (Carter & Little, 2007). Since there has so far been very limited research dedicated to business travellers and their uptake of ERP when at the travel destination, the nature of the research was largely exploratory, and in some core aspects influenced by the grounded

theory approach. Glaser and Strauss (1967) developed grounded theory for their studies in medical sociology, but it is now a widely accepted methodological approach (Flick, 2009). In their explanation of grounded theory, they note that qualitative research is formed of interdependent and cyclical stages, with “covariant ongoing collection and analysis of data” (Glaser, 1992: 15). For this research, only two key elements of grounded theory, as set out by Charmaz (2005), were used: simultaneous data collection and analysis to inform and focus further research, and the search for specific data to fill out, refine and check emerging conceptual ideas. In contrast to grounded theory, however, initial reading of literature, identification of research populations and framing of research questions preceded the first empirical data collection. The empirical data collection consisted of three stages (researching hotel managers, business travellers, and travellers’ employers) which were undertaken consecutively with open coding helping to develop themes which were subsequently explored in the following research stage. The three stages of data collection consisted primarily of ethnographic techniques, and particularly interviews, to discover, analyse and check emerging ideas. Next I will explore the decision processes which determined the focus of the qualitative study, in sections on the research population and on the research methods.

4.2 The research population

The starting point for determining the research design and methods was the understanding that individual business travellers are influenced in their decision-making and actions by a range of actors (see discussions in Chapter 3). Since the exact influence on behaviour will differ between situations and individuals, it is clear that all these influences cannot be researched in one thesis, and future research could, for example, focus more intensively on the influence of travellers’ families and/or other environments like airports. From the literature review it became evident, however, that there are certain actor groups which have a considerable influence on business travellers’ behaviour, and which are in turn influenced by business travellers. Since the focus of this thesis is on business travellers’ *in situ* environment-related practices (ERP), hotels were considered to be places where business travellers carry out a lot of their practices. As was discussed in Chapter 3, previous research has focused on the impact of guest expectations on hotels’ corporate social responsibility (CSR) commitments, and to a lesser extent on the impact of hotels’ CSR practices on guests’ behaviour (for the former, see e.g. Millar and Baloglu (2011) and Appendix A, and for the latter see e.g. Goldstein et al. (2008) and Shang et al. (2010)). It was considered that

hotel managers were, therefore, able to provide an insight into the behaviour of business travellers, and the interactions between hotel staff and business travellers.

In Chapter 3 it was, furthermore, discussed how employers attempt to control their travelling employees through formal and informal policies and codes (see e.g. Lassen (2006) and Douglas and Lubbe (2009, 2010)). This resulted in travellers' employers being regarded as a second actor group which was expected to have the means and agency to influence business travellers' behaviour. These two actor groups – hotels and employers – were not only anticipated to influence business travellers' behaviour, but business travellers were similarly expected to influence hotel operations and their employers' policies. Furthermore, employers are major consumers of hotel rooms, and for that reason have a potential influence on hotel operations, while hotels can anticipate employers' requirements and influence employers' booking decisions. The expectations of the relationships and interconnectivity of these three actors is illustrated in Figure 4.1.

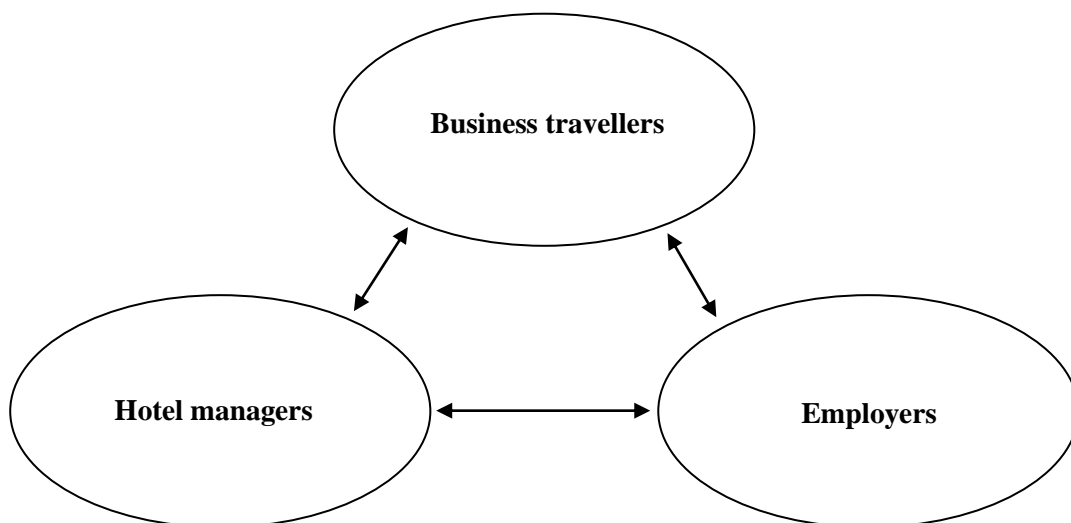


Figure 4.1: The interconnectivity of the three actor groups

Because of access opportunities due to an educational background in hospitality management, as well as the potential that existed of receiving information about business travellers from individuals who interact with them on a daily basis, data collection from hotel managers formed the first stage of the study (more on the research design and procedures will follow). After the data from hotel managers was collected and evaluated, and some suitable locations were identified for the recruitment of business travellers, collecting data from (and about) business travellers was the second stage. Since all travellers argued that their employers did not attempt to control the uptake of ERP at the travel

destination, but did attempt to guide other behaviours associated with business travel, such as the flight and hotel booking, a third and final stage consisted of collecting some data from company representatives to verify the travellers' statements and to allow for triangulation.

4.3 Research design and methods

In an effort to answer the research questions, data was collected using three research methods: interviews, participant observation, and website content analysis. Firstly, 22 London hotel managers, who were part of the hotel's management team and responsible for the management of CSR practices in the hotel, were interviewed. This was followed by 34 interviews with individual business travellers. Business travellers and hotel staff were, furthermore, observed in hotel environments like the hotel lobby or bar. Finally, 4 interviews were undertaken with company representatives who were experts in travel management or their company's sustainability commitments. These expert interviews were used to collect context information that complemented previously collected data (Bogner & Menz, 2002: in Flick, 2009). As in the interviews with hotel managers, in the expert interviews with company representatives I was less interested in the interviewed person (which I was in the case of the business travellers), and more with his or her expertise of a certain field (Flick, 2009). Figure 4.2 provides a timeline of the different research stages.

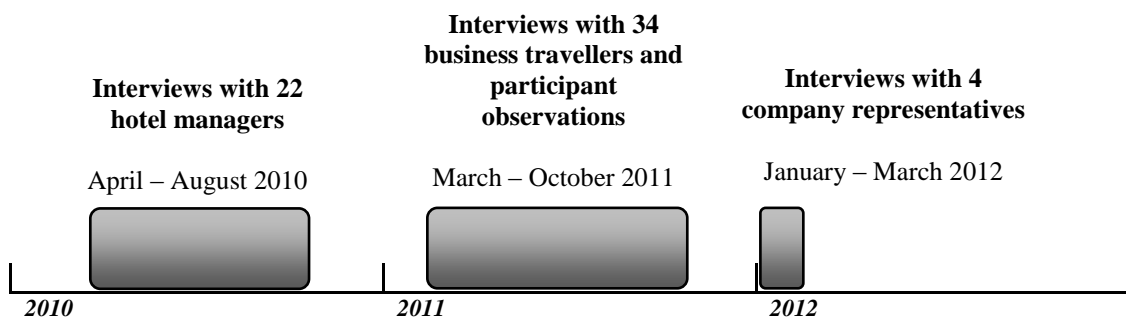


Figure 4.2: Timeline of empirical research stages

4.3.1 Interviews

The main focus was placed on semi-structured interviews to collect the data required to answer the research questions. Potter (1997: 149) refers to an interview as “an arena for interaction” between the interviewer and interviewee, which makes interviews adequately suited for exploratory research. Quantitative research methods like questionnaires would have provided less nuanced understandings of the hotels' operations and commitments, and hotel managers' experiences with business travellers. Quantitative methods would,

furthermore, have been inadequate to capture business travellers' attitudes and feelings towards travelling and staying in hotels, and it would have been hard to understand whether and why ERP were carried out and to understand the relationship between ERP and personal attitudes, values and structures. Qualitative research, in contrast, helps to understand perspectives and meaning-making by participants. The use of focus groups was considered, especially since the interaction between different actors had the potential to provide an interesting discussion, but it was deemed impossible to get hotel managers, business travellers and travel managers committed to come together in a pre-arranged setting (as similarly pointed out by Dickinson, Robbins, & Lumsdon (2010)). Indeed, by collecting data through individual interviews which, in the case of hotel managers and company representatives, took place in the individuals' workplace, there was an opportunity to observe the hotel and working environment and in some cases get a guided tour of the hotel to see some of the implemented CSR practices first hand.

Another reason to choose interviews over focus groups related to the influence of the group on individuals' answers, especially considering those questions which are susceptible to 'group bias' or a 'societal norm' like those about climate change (see Dickinson et al., 2010; Stoll-Kleemann, O'Riordan, & Jaeger, 2001), with participants possibly giving socially desirable answers. It was deemed particularly important for interviews with business travellers to minimise this bias. In this logic, business travellers were told that the interview was about business travel, but were not told that the study was partly about ERP until halfway through the interview. This meant that social desirability effects were minimised and limited to the second part of the interview. The interview was split up in two parts, with the first part consulting the interviewee about topics like their travel behaviour, their feelings about travelling for work and the booking process. After this, the interviewee was asked questions relating to their environmental behaviour and awareness. Interviews are particularly suitable to discuss contrasting or inconsistent behaviours, and the differences between attitudes, values, intentions and behaviour (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). However, as far as behaviour is concerned, interviews only allow for data on reported behaviour to be collected.

4.3.2 Observation

To attain a better understanding of business travellers' actual behaviour in hotels, the behaviour of hotel guests and their interactions with hotel staff were observed. While it was deemed impossible to observe the behaviour of business travellers when in private spaces like their hotel bedroom, participant observation was used to gain a better understanding of

business travellers' performances and interactions when in public spaces like the hotel lobby and bar. Participant observations were used to better understand business travellers' travelling lifestyles and hotel stays, investigating the "ordinary, usual, typical, routine, or natural environment of human existence" (Jorgensen, 1989: 15). This is in contrast to interviews, where the researcher manipulates the environment to 'force' the data collection in a particular direction through the questions that he or she asks (ibid). The observations in the hotels were shaped towards the 'observation' end, rather than the 'participation' end (Glesne, 2011). Some interaction was had with hotel guests and staff, but the prime objective was to observe situations without involvement or interference. This approach had some limitations, since I was not playing the role of a business traveller or of a hotel employee. By wearing a suit, working on my laptop and ordering a drink once in a while, however, an attempt was made to 'fit in' and participate in the hotel bar environment.

4.3.3 Website analysis

In an effort to understand more comprehensively how hotels communicate their CSR practices, I also analysed the content of hotel websites. This was done to triangulate this data with the interview findings and observations in the hotel space. It also helped to map the communication from hotel management to stakeholders in the 'virtual hotel space'. Demand for publicly published information about CSR is growing (Jose & Lee, 2007) with the internet playing an important role in offering these publications to an ever-growing population of internet users (Parguel, Benoît-Moreau, & Larceneux, 2011). A website is a highly accessible, interactive and relatively inexpensive medium, and for hotels, which are customer-facing companies, it is an important tool to reach their customers (Hsieh, 2012; Jose & Lee, 2007; Parguel et al., 2011). The website analysis provided insights into the information about CSR practices provided on hotel websites. Collecting this empirical data provided an understanding of the ways hotels communicate their CSR practices to stakeholders, including guests, both in the physical hotel and in the online space. Furthermore, although reliant on the information provided by hotels (what they said they did, not what they in fact did), the analysis helped to map the breadth of CSR practices that were supposedly implemented by hotels, and it gave an indication of how important it was to hotel management to communicate this information on their website.

The website analysis was undertaken in a number of steps, which will be explained in more detail in Chapter 5 where I also discuss the outcome of the analysis. Here I will briefly explain the overall methodology of the analysis. The analysis consisted of two phases; in phase one I analysed the hotel and parent company websites for any content on CSR

practices implemented by the hotels, and in phase two I analysed the same websites for information or images of environmental certifications they had obtained. Since the large majority of London hotels are part of a chain, I decided to also analyse the websites of the parent companies in the first phase. In the second phase parent company websites were not included in the analysis, because environmental certifications are generally awarded to hotels, rather than to hotel chains. I do not claim that this analysis was a quantified linguistic content analysis (see Krippendorff, 2013), but every effort was made to analyse and record the findings systematically, as I will explain below.

For phase one, an initial pilot of twenty hotel websites allowed me to compile a list of key terms which I divided into four categories: 'natural environment', 'community', 'marketplace' and 'workforce'. For the interviewing process of hotel managers, a list of 196 hotels was compiled using the Visit England website (the sampling process will be explained in Chapter 4.4.1). This same list of 196 hotels was used for the website analysis; in February 2012 all hotel and parent company websites from the 196 hotels were analysed for information related to the four categories, by reading relevant sub-pages. On most websites, tabs and links clearly indicated which sub-pages contained information about CSR practices, but if the information could not be found, all sub-pages of the website were looked at, where possible using the 'site map' feature of the website to ensure that no sub-page was missed. When at least one of the key terms was mentioned on the website, it was established that the website provided information about the relating category. Using the table in Appendix H, for each website the boxes for the four categories were checked in accordance with the provided information. Chapter 5.2 provides more information about the analysis and discusses the findings of the analysis.

For phase two, hotel websites were analysed for text and images of environmental certification schemes which were awarded to hotels. Through a search in academic and trade literature, as well as an internet search, four environmental certification schemes were chosen for the analysis: The Green Tourism Business Scheme, Considerate Hoteliers, EarthCheck, and the Sustainable Restaurant Association. These schemes were chosen because they have a high profile in the industry, have a relatively large member base in London, and all have a different 'coverage'. EarthCheck is a global certification scheme, whereas the other schemes have a national orientation; the Sustainable Restaurant Association focuses on the sustainability of hotel restaurants, while the other schemes focus on all operations of the hotel; Considerate Hoteliers is a membership scheme which has no audits, in contrast to the other schemes which are all based on a system of audits to become

certified (for more information about these schemes see Chapter 5.3). For this analysis I decided to only analyse hotel websites, and not parent company websites, because the four certification schemes are all awarded to hotels, rather than to hotel chains. All 196 hotel websites were analysed. Using the table in Appendix I, it was systematically recorded whether there was written information about any of the four schemes, or whether any of the logos of the environmental schemes was displayed on any sub-pages of the hotel websites. Similarly to phase one, the site-map feature was used to ensure that all sub-pages were checked. Further triangulation was carried out by cross-checking claims with the official member lists as found on the websites of the four environmental certification schemes (Considerate Hoteliers, n.d.; EarthCheck, n.d.; GTBS, n.d.; SRA, n.d.). Thus it was also recorded when a hotel had a certification, but did not make any mention of this on their website. This allowed for a discussion about the prevalence of environmental certification schemes and the use of hotel websites to communicate information about these awards to stakeholders. Chapter 5.3 contains a detailed explanation of the research steps, and discusses the findings of the analysis.

4.4 Access and sampling

Since the different research populations were considerably different in size and accessibility, the methods of contacting and interviewing a sample had to be adapted to suit the population. For that reason, I will discuss the research procedures carried out to collect data from a sample of each of the three research populations.

4.4.1 Hotel managers

As was explained in Chapter 1 (see Section 1.3.2), London was established as the focus for the empirical research. According to estimates by Visit London (2007), the city had about 83,000 hotel rooms in 2007. Another report by the Greater London Authority (2002b), however, noted that it is almost impossible to give an accurate estimate of hotel rooms in London, since there is no compulsory system of registration for hotels. Furthermore, there is no single rating system of hotels, with a lot of hotels rating themselves. The report concludes that the English Tourist Board has the most accurate data available on London hotels (ibid). The English Tourist Board is part of a joint venture between Visit Britain, consisting of the tourist boards of England, Scotland and Wales, and the Automobile Association (AA). Since 2007, hotels can voluntarily sign up to join the five-star standardised system (Datar & Chowdhry, 2010).

Through the domestic English website of Visit Britain (<http://www.enjoyengland.com>, final access on May 24, 2010), initially a list of 366 accommodation providers was compiled, by searching for the keyword 'London' in the accommodation search, and setting the radius at 5 miles. Afterwards, the results were further filtered to 199 hotels by checking the box 'hotel', with 46 five-star hotels, 100 four-star hotels, 26 three-star hotels, 2 two-star hotels, 0 one-star hotel and 25 budget hotels. One four-star hotel was found to be closed at the time of the study, bringing the total of four-star hotels to 99 and the total hotels to 198 (for a list of all hotels included in the study, please see Appendix B). I consider the distinction between the different star-ratings as important, because the star-ratings have an influence on the interaction between staff and guests, the expectations of hospitality (Ariffin & Maghzi, 2012) and, possibly, expectations of CSR practices. The star-rating is the most recognisable classification system of hotels, and even though many consumers might not know the exact criteria for the different ratings, the star-rating often comes with a certain expectation from the guest.

Between April and August 2010 all 5-star, 3-star, 2-star and budget-hotels were contacted, starting with the 5-star hotels and then the other hotels. Due to the high number of 4-star properties, it was decided to arrange the 4-star hotels in alphabetical order and contact the first, and then every third hotel on the list. If the hotel after the first contact declined participation, the hotel below would be contacted. All hotels were sent an e-mail to their general e-mail address, found on their website, with a request for an interview. All responses were recorded, and one week later the hotels that had not responded were called on the main-switchboard number. Through contact over the phone, often a second e-mail address was provided by the hotel, after which an adapted version of the first e-mail was sent to the personal e-mail address. At other times contact details were left behind or appointments were made over the phone. When hotels did not respond to the second personal e-mail, a last reminder was sent.

From the total 198 hotels, 175 were contacted and 19 hotel managers were willing to participate in semi-structured interviews on location (see Appendix C for the interview guide), with all interviews taking between 30 and 90 minutes. A further 2 managers answered the interview questions by e-mail (which is indicated by an 'e' behind their ID numbers, e.g. ID 1e), and one interviewee was the sustainability manager of a hotel chain rather than working for an individual hotel. All managers were responsible for the management of sustainability and CSR practices, this often being one of their tasks in a broader job description. These interviewees are referred to in the remainder of this thesis as

ID 1e to ID 22. Table 4.1 provides information about each interviewee and his or her employer, and Table 4.2 shows the interviews as divided by hotel star-rating.

ID	Stars¹⁸	Job title	Hotel type
1e	5	Assistant to the General Manager	<50 bedroom hotel, owned by multinational chain
2	5	Group Director of Engineering	>250 bedroom independent hotel
3	5	Chief Engineer	<250 bedroom hotel, owned by one of the 10 largest multinational hotel chains
4	5	Guest Relations and Services Manager	<50 bedroom hotel, family-owned hotel chain with hotels in several countries
5	5	Chief Engineer and Environmental Officer	<150 bedroom hotel, privately-owned hotel chain with hotels in several countries
6	5	Director of Engineering	>250 bedroom hotel, owned by one of the 10 largest multinational hotel chains
7	5	Back of House Manager	<200 bedroom hotel, owned by a consortium of investors
8	5	HR & Training Manager	<150 bedroom hotel, owned by multinational chain
9	5	Assistant Guest Service Manager	<100 bedroom hotel, family-owned hotel chain with hotels in several countries
10e	B	Night Manager	>250 bedroom hotel, owned by a UK-based public corporation
11	4	Operations Manager	<250 bedroom hotel, owned by one of the 10 largest multinational hotel chains
12	B	Environmental Manager	Head office employee of UK-based public corporation
13	3	Duty Manager	<150 bedroom hotel, owned by one of the 10 largest multinational hotel chains
14	3	Founder and Managing Director	<150 bedroom hotel, part of a small, privately-owned hotel chain with hotels in two countries
15	4	Human Resources Manager	<250 bedroom independent hotel
16	B	Deputy General Manager	<150 bedroom hotel, owned by one of the 10 largest multinational hotel chains
17	3	General Manager	<200 bedroom hotel, family-owned hotel chain with hotels in several countries
18	3	Health & Safety Manager	>250 bedroom hotel, small family-owned hotel chain with hotels in London
19	4	Assistant Front of House Manager	<200 bedroom hotel, owned by one of the 10 largest multinational hotel chains
20	B	Operations Manager	>250 bedroom hotel, owned by a UK-based public corporation
21	4	Human Resources Coordinator	<150 bedroom hotel, owned by one of the 10 largest multinational hotel chains
22	4	Director of Operations	>250 bedroom hotel, owned by one of the 10 largest multinational hotel chains

Table 4.1: Interviewees' positions and the hotel type

¹⁸ 'B' stands for budget hotel

	Total	Interviewed
Five-star hotels	46	9
Four-star hotels	99	5
Three-star hotels	26	4
Two-star hotels	2	-
Budget hotels	25	4
Total	198	22

Table 4.2: Interviewed hotel managers divided by hotel star-rating

4.4.2 Business travellers

Starting in March 2011, a research period of six months was set to collect data through face-to-face interviews with business travellers. While the aim of my research was largely explorative – and, hence, I do not attempt to claim generalizability of findings – it was deemed important to collect data from a wide range of business travellers. Because there is no even distribution – in age and gender – of travellers visiting the UK, data from the International Passenger Survey (IPS) was used to guide the recruitment of interviewees. The IPS is carried out upon instructions from the Office for National Statistics (ONS), and uses data from more than a “quarter of [a] million face-to-face interviews (...) carried out each year with passengers entering and leaving the UK through the main airports, seaports and the Channel Tunnel” (ONS, 2011). Table 4.3 provides the amount of business travellers that entered the UK in 2009 arranged by gender and age.

	0-15	16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Totals
Male	2	122	1074	1959	1455	569	64	5245
Female	3	51	410	448	272	79	12	1275
<i>Total</i>								<i>6520</i>

Table 4.3: International business visitors (x1000) to the UK in 2009 (source: ONS, 2011)

As can be seen in the table, the amount of business travellers visiting the UK is gender biased. Historically, men have had more possibilities to travel for business than women, since women performed home-based tasks in many societies (Novarra, 1980), and men held privileged positions in companies (Harris & Ateljevic, 2003). Gustafson (2006) argues that men travel considerably more than women, regardless of their family situation, while having young children generally has a large impact on the frequency of travel for women. Indeed, Harris and Ateljevic (2003, p. 25) found that “the male gaze of business travel still prevails, as an almost uniform description of a male, white, professional, aged mid 30-40s as the typical business traveller.” The figures from UK visitors conform to this gaze, with far more

middle-aged men visiting the UK for business purposes than women. These data were taken into consideration when recruiting business travellers.

Three methods of recruitment were successfully used, starting with purposive sampling amongst travelling acquaintances. The sample consisted of friends and acquaintances, enrolled through the use of email, personal talks and Facebook messages. There was also some success through a 'snowballing' tactic, where interviewees were asked to help me contact other colleagues. A total of eighteen interviews were undertaken this way, generally lasting between 45 and 60 minutes. Two interviews were undertaken, out of situational necessity, as 'paired interviews', with the first one consisting of a married couple (ID 23 and 24) and the second consisting of work colleagues (ID 55 and 56). Paired interviews have certain benefits over one-on-one interviews, since they are less time-consuming and they provide rich data, since interviewees stimulate one another which helps to aid recall (Fontana & Frey, 2005). There are downsides to paired interviews, particularly with a sensitive topic like pro-environmental behaviour. Because in both cases the interviewees knew each other well, there could have been issues with untruthful or 'desirable' answers from the interviewees. In consideration of this, it is mentioned in my discussions when quotes came from the paired interviews.

Secondly, the duty manager of a London 5-star hotel was contacted, requesting access to his guests. The manager was interviewed during the first stage and had requested to stay informed about the study. He was emailed with a request for help with access to business travellers¹⁹. He offered to email some of his regular business guests, asking for their participation. In the email I introduced myself, my research and my affiliations. This resulted in four 45-60 minute interviews, which all took place in the bar of the hotel.

Finally, in an attempt to widen the scope of interviewees, London City Airport was contacted to ask permission to approach travellers. London City Airport was selected because it is a relatively small airport that is close to both Canary Wharf and the City, the two major business districts of the city. It operates regular flights to cities across Europe and business-class-only flights to New York, and promotes itself with the shortest check-in times of any London airport. The airport is heavily focused on the business traveller, with 64 percent of all travellers using London City Airport doing so for business purposes (London City Airport, 2011). Permission to conduct research was granted for two days, but

¹⁹ Other hotel managers were contacted with less successful results as will be discussed in Section 4.4 below.

only for the landside²⁰ of the airport. During the two days, eleven interviews were undertaken at London City Airport. The interviews were relatively short – about 10 minutes on average – as people had to catch a flight or had to leave to go into Central London. Only a restricted number of questions could be asked, with the questions largely focussing on the interviewee's choice of hotel and their environmental behaviour.

In conclusion, by the end of September 2011, 32 interviews had been undertaken and a further two were scheduled and completed in the first week of October, bringing the total to 34 interviews. Because of theoretical saturation in the collected data, it was decided at this point to stop recruiting business travellers. This is in accordance with what Glaser and Strauss (1967) have discussed regarding saturation. They have pointed out that the researcher has to judge when to stop collecting empirical data by considering the saturation levels of the data collected up to that point. Additionally, with the demographic data collected from the interviewees, it was possible to compare the age and gender of the interviewees with the data from the IPS as was shown in Table 4.3. Throughout the process of interviewing, the IPS data was used to guide the recruitment of new interviewees. As is shown in Table 4.4, the distribution of interviewees was very similar to the distribution of international visitors to the UK²¹. This further supported the decision to stop recruiting travellers. It should be noted here, however, that not all interviewees were visitors to the UK (in contrast to the IPS data). Because the research took place in London, some travellers (4 of 34) were travelling from other parts of the UK to London. A further eight travellers were British and travelled abroad, either living in London or another part of the country (using London for the flight). Furthermore, seven travellers were from a foreign nationality but now living in London for their work, while travelling abroad for business. Finally, fifteen travellers visited London for business from outside of the UK. Nevertheless, it is believed that the sample of business travellers constitute a diverse range of business travellers in London.

²⁰ Airports consist of a 'landside' area, which is where travellers check-in for their flights, and an 'airside' area, where travellers go after going through security.

²¹ With the data from the IPS, as shown in Table 4.3, it was calculated what each group's percentage of the total was. With these percentages, and by setting the total interviews at 34, the ideal interviewees per group could be calculated.

	0-15	16-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Totals
Male	-	1	6	11	8	3	-	29
	-	-	6	<i>11</i>	5	4	<i>1</i>	27
Female	-	-	2	2	1	-	-	5
	-	-	2	3	2	-	-	7
							<i>Total</i>	34

Table 4.4: Sampling frame (top) compared with actual interviews (bottom, in *Italics*)

Table 4.5 shows the spread in age and gender, but also that interviewees were employed in a wide range of sectors. The highest numbers of interviewees were employed as consultants, which is not surprising as consultants often perform their job on location with clients, and for that reason travel a lot. The business travellers were overall highly educated, with all having higher education or management qualifications. The majority had a university degree, with 12 having completed an undergraduate degree, 11 a postgraduate taught degree, and two a PhD. The vast majority of participants, 23 interviewees, travelled between once and 25 times per year for their work (Figure 4.3). Of these 23, eleven interviewees travelled on average up to 10 times, with another eleven travelling between 11 and 20 times per year. One interviewee travelled more than 100 times per year, with trips on average being 1 or 2 nights. Overall, business trips were generally short, with a typical business trip being up to 6 nights.

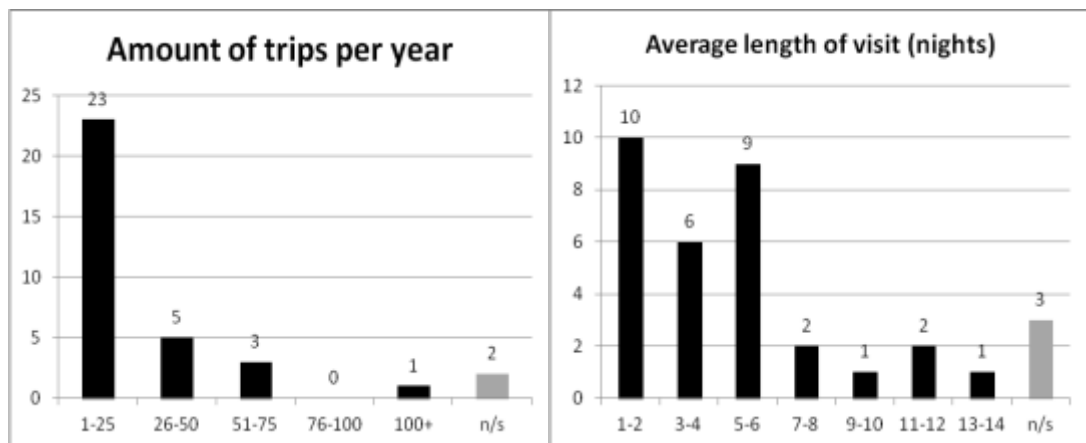


Figure 4.3: Business travellers' amount of travel and average length of visits (n = 34)

	ID	Gender	Age bracket	Nationality	Industry	Contact
1	23	Male	35-44	Canadian	Oil & Gas	Purposive
2	24	Female	25-34	Canadian	Oil & Gas	Snowballing
3	25	Male	25-34	German	Telecommunication	Purposive
4	26	Female	25-34	British	Consultancy	Snowballing
5	27	Male	45-54	British	Tourism & travel	Purposive
6	28	Female	45-54	British	Law	Purposive
7	29	Male	25-34	Canadian	Consultancy	Purposive
8	30	Male	35-44	Spanish	Telecommunication	4-star hotel
9	31	Male	35-44	Greek	Academia	Snowballing
10	32	Male	55-64	British	IT	5-star hotel
11	33	Male	45-54	British	Consultancy	5-star hotel
12	34	Male	35-44	British	Manufacturing	5-star hotel
13	35	Male	25-34	Canadian	Finance	Purposive
14	36	Male	45-54	Dutch	Tourism & travel	City Airport
15	37	Male	25-34	German	Consultancy	City Airport
16	38	Male	55-64	Dutch	Finance	City Airport
17	39	Male	45-54	Irish	IT	City Airport
18	40	Female	35-44	French	Consultancy	City Airport
19	41	Male	65+	British	Tourism & travel	City Airport
20	42	Male	35-44	US American	IT	5-star hotel
21	43	Male	35-44	US American	Telecommunication	City Airport
22	44	Male	55-64	British	Law	City Airport
23	45	Female	45-54	Belgian	Oil & Gas	City Airport
24	46	Male	35-44	British	Manufacturing	City Airport
25	47	Male	55-64	Austrian	Manufacturing	City Airport
26	48	Male	25-34	Canadian	Telecommunication	Purposive
27	49	Male	35-44	German	Consultancy	Snowballing
28	50	Male	35-44	British	Construction	Purposive
29	51	Female	35-44	Canadian	Third sector	Purposive
30	52	Male	35-44	British	Media	Snowballing
31	53	Male	25-34	British	Third sector	Purposive
32	54	Female	35-44	Vietnamese	Finance	Purposive
33	55	Male	45-54	Indian	Finance	Snowballing
34	56	Male	35-44	French	Finance	Purposive

Table 4.5: Business travel interviewees

Next to interviews, business travellers were observed in the hotel setting on six separate occasions. Interactions between business travellers and hotel staff at the reception desk were considered as potentially interesting, so in the first two hotels permission was asked to observe the lobby and check-in process. Both, however, did not allow me to sit in the lobby or close to the reception desk, out of fear that I could record sensitive information (e.g.

credit card details). Therefore, most observations took place in the hotel bar, and hotel staff of the remaining four hotels were not made aware of my intentions. Hotel guests and staff were observed and in some cases travellers were approached for informal conversations.

4.4.3 *Company representatives*

In an effort to check the data provided by business travellers, and to enhance the rigour and reliability of the collected data, I attempted to interview company representatives of the companies who employed the business travellers interviewed during the previous research stage. Interviewed business travellers were contacted for help with accessing individuals in their companies who were responsible for travel arrangements or CSR practices. Contact details were not taken from all interviewed business travellers, which meant that not all 34 travellers could be contacted. It was, furthermore, decided not to contact companies which did not employ any of the 34 interviewees, because the expert interviews were undertaken to ‘match’ the responses of the interviewed business travellers with those of company representatives. Four interviews were undertaken, and to suit all respondents, different methods were used to collect data. In one company two interviews were undertaken (one phone interview as indicated by a ‘p’ behind the ID number, and one face-to-face interview), while in two other companies email was used (as indicated by the ‘e’ behind the ID number) to get these two managers to answer open-ended questions (see Appendix C). Figure 4.4 provides short descriptions of the four interviewees.

ID 57p – This senior partner works in a construction company and is responsible for updating the travel policy. It is an MNC with employees travelling between offices across the world and regularly spending long times on location at construction projects. All employees travel economy and the company books either higher-end hotels or serviced apartments for its employees. The company uses a travel agent, but many employees still book via other channels like online websites. The senior partner is trying to improve this in order to make cost savings.
ID 58 – This sustainability head works for the same company as ID 57p. He is responsible for the sustainability team that both oversee all sustainability practices within the company and the offering of sustainability considerations in their building projects. The company has not focused their sustainability efforts on travel, as there were other, higher impact areas to focus on, like energy reduction and waste management.
ID 59e – This travel manager works in an international non-governmental organisation focusing on human rights in (former) warzones, with employees travelling regularly to attend international conferences and meetings with partners. Employees generally stay in middle-range hotels and travel on economy flights.
ID 60e – Coordinates travel for a department in a major player in the telecoms market. The company is active in many countries around the world, and employees from its London head office generally travel regularly. Employees stay in 4 or 5-star hotels and can choose from a list of company approved hotels. Bookings are made through a major travel agency, and he says cost is the most important criterion for selecting hotels.

Figure 4.4: Descriptions of the interviewed company representatives

4.5 Less successful research attempts

Having discussed the successful research procedures to collect data from the different actor groups, and before discussing how the data was recorded and analysed, I will briefly focus on the less successful attempts that were made to collect data. The empirical data collection was far ‘messier’ than discussed in the previous section, especially due to a number of problems with trying to access research participants.

4.5.1 Hotel managers

With regards to the hotel managers, one of the main obstacles was getting into contact with the manager responsible for the supervision of CSR, sustainability or environmental practices in the hotel, and subsequently to persuade them to take part in the research. Table 4.6 shows the responses to the interview requests, divided by their hotel’s star rating. A lot of effort was put into ‘chasing’ the hotel managers through email and by phone. A few issues stopped managers from participating in the study. Firstly, many reported to have made the decision not to participate in any student research, as hotels would receive many requests from students. Secondly, especially with four-star, three-star, and budget hotels, many hotels were part of a chain and would direct any enquiries to the head office. Head offices would generally turn down any requests. Thirdly, there were three hotels that decided not to take part because of commercial sensitivity. Two hotel managers requested proof of studentship, and even then, declined participation, because I could not prove that I was not working for another hotel in parallel, so there was a fear of spying for the competition. This showed how fierce the competition is in the hotel industry in London. By far the largest group of hotel managers, however, simply did not reply to any messages.

Due to the low response rate from hotel managers (eventually only 45% of hotels returned my requests, and 13% of contacted hotels agreed to participate), other attempts were made to get into contact with hotel managers. This included a day of visiting twelve hotels in the vicinity of the London ExCel Exhibition and Convention Centre, which resulted in more email addresses, but in the end no interviews. I was, furthermore, offered to take part in a joint internship with US American NGO Sustainable Travel International (STI) and the company that audits luxury hotels that are part of the Leading Hotels of the World group: Leading Quality Assurance (LQA). I hoped that this would be an opportunity to get into contact with London hotel managers, but this did not materialize. Nevertheless, the internship was a helpful experience, particularly in regards to learning more about tourism certification schemes. STI and Leading Hotels of the World launched a new certification

scheme in July 2009, called the Luxury Eco-Certification Standard (LECS) (STI, 2009). To get certified, hotels need to go through a rigorous assessment programme, which include the submission of hotel data to be measured against 100 criteria. I helped establish these criteria and made working documents for each criterion which could be used by hotel managers pursuing certification (see Appendix D for some example templates).

	5*	4*	3*	2*	Budget	Total
Interview arranged	9	5	4	-	4	22
Left email reminder(s), no reply	11	41	14	1	13	80
Left voicemail(s), no reply	3	8	2	-	2	15
Asked to contact head office	-	8	1	-	4	13
Not willing/able to participate	23	14	5	1	2	45
Not contacted ²²	-	23	-	-	-	23
Total	46	99	26	2	25	198

Table 4.6: Replies to interview request

4.5.2 Business travellers

While a lot of effort was put into contacting hotel managers, even more attempts were made to recruit business travellers. As discussed above, interviews were conducted through purposive sampling and snowballing, with travellers at London City Airport and in a London hotel, and business travellers were observed in a number of London hotels. These approaches, however, did not come without problems. For example, problems were encountered during the two days in the airport terminal. Firstly, because of the limited seating in the landside area, many travellers would come in, check-in and go straight through security to wait for their flight in the airside area. This often left little opportunity for an interview. Secondly, many business travellers were working on their laptops or other mobile devices in the airport terminal. I came across some travellers working on their laptops while others were on the phone, with one stating he was in a conference call when I approached him. Unlike leisure travellers who seemed to come early and ‘kill’ time in the airport, business travellers were either walking straight through security to their flight or busy with work while waiting for check-in. This made the approach of business travellers problematic and led to many rejections. It did, however, give an excellent insight into the

²² As explained in Section 4.3.1, not all 4-star hotels were contacted due to the large number of hotels in this category. A random selection was conducted, where all 4-star hotels were ordered in alphabetical order, with the first and then every third hotel being contacted. If the hotel declined participation, the hotel below would be contacted. The recruitment was stopped in August 2010, eventually resulting in 23 hotels not being contacted.

busy lifestyle that business travellers were living, and that most were even busy working while waiting for their flight. Similarly, during observations in hotels, travellers were randomly approached for a short interview when they were sitting in the hotel bar. Travellers were generally unwilling to participate, either because they were in the bar with other people, or because they were carrying out other activities (e.g. reading the paper, working, simply relaxing). One restaurant manager asked me to leave after noticing that I approached his guests.

Furthermore, the manager that offered to email his regular guests for interviews changed jobs one month into the process, with his successor unwilling to participate. This meant that only four interviews were conducted using this approach. Some other managers were similarly contacted for help, but most declined participation. One manager of a 4-star hotel was willing to help, but was restricted by his company's policies on accommodating student research. He allowed me to stand outside his hotel handing out flyers to guests entering or leaving the hotel. The flyer introduced me and my research, and stated the times that I would be in the hotel bar. Travellers were asked to approach me if they were willing to have an interview. The hotel manager gave his consent for me to sit in the hotel bar and undertake the interviews, but would not allow me to approach travellers in the bar myself. On the first night of handing out flyers this resulted in one semi-structured interview, which was similarly structured to the interviews in the purposive sample. After trying to hand out more flyers on a second day, I was sent away by security. The hotel was situated on a business estate, and handing out flyers was not allowed on this estate. The hotel manager tried contacting the management of the estate, stating that the hotel had approved me handing out flyers and that it was not for commercial purposes, but permission was denied and, hence, this approach similarly had only limited success.

A final attempt to collect data was made by forming an online questionnaire. This idea came about when an interviewed hotel manager – who again had shown interest in staying in touch – was contacted for help, and proposed publicising an online questionnaire on his hotel's website and social media pages. He had used online questionnaires frequently for his hotel, and often received more than 50 replies to a single questionnaire. Acknowledging that a broader number of business travellers could be interesting to the study, an online questionnaire was developed using free survey software from the university (SelectSurvey) (see Appendix E for questionnaire questions). The questionnaire was promoted multiple times in the hotel's online newsletter, and on its Facebook and Twitter pages. The results were disappointing, with only five travellers filling in the questionnaire. At the end of the

questionnaire they were all asked if they would be available for a face-to-face interview, to which all provided a negative answer. It was decided this number was not significant enough to base any assumptions or conclusions on, so this data was not used in this study.

4.6 Research analysis and ethicality

Having discussed the successful and less successful procedures which were undertaken to collect empirical data, I will finally focus on how the data was recorded and analysed, and how issues around ethicality, validity, reliability and selective plausibility were addressed.

4.6.1 Recording and analysis of data

With the exception of interviews with business travellers at London City Airport, all interviews were recorded on an electronic recording device, after getting permission from the interviewees. Notes were also taken, both as a back-up in case the recording would fail or would be unclear (Flick, 2009) and to draw the interviewees' attention away from the recorder. It has been argued that the presence of a recorder might make interviewees more aware and careful about what they say, although it is also noted that individuals are becoming more familiar with these types of technology in contemporary society and, hence, will be less put off by it (Flick, 2002). At London City Airport, only one interview was recorded, while for all others notes were taken. Note taking worked better because the interviews were short and often undertaken in a noisy environment.

After each interview, the recording was uploaded to a laptop for transcription and coding. Because language was not an integral part of the research scope (Flick, 2009), standard orthography was used as the transcription style. This style, which is "based on the norms of the written language and makes the tasks of the transcribers easier" (Kowal & O'Connell, 2004: 250), places less importance on exact punctuations and breaks or mistakes in speech. The transcription was done in Microsoft Word and after the initial transcription each interview transcript was checked a second time for 'anonymisation' (Flick, 2009). Interviews which were only recorded through note-taking at London City Airport were transcribed on a laptop directly after each interview. This was deemed the most appropriate method, because multiple interviews were undertaken on the same day.

To code the transcripts, the coding guide by Schmidt (2004) was used. From each sample, five interview transcripts (two in the case of company representatives) – picked at random – were thoroughly read and parts of the text were given categories. After the initial

categorisation, the five transcripts were compared and common topics were flagged. This resulted in 32 codes for hotel managers, 27 for business travellers and 16 codes for company representatives. All transcripts were uploaded to Atlas.ti (version 6.2) and coded using the codes. During this process two more codes originated for interviews with hotel managers and four more for interviews with business travellers. This meant that after the initial coding process, all transcripts were checked again to update the coding (for the full coding guides see Appendix F, and for a coding excerpt see Appendix G).

Time	Observation
16.47	I walk into the lobby, together with another guest in suit. The porter approaches him first (I don't believe because of our appearances – I am wearing a suit too – but because he is closer to that guest). He asks the guest how he is doing and if he can do anything. The guest answers: "I'm fine, just a bit drunk" and walks towards the elevators to go to his room. I am next being approached by the porter. He asks me if he can help me with anything. I explain the reason I am at the hotel, after which the porter allows me to sit on a couch next to the reception.
16.51	The porter calls the duty manager to get permission, and the duty manager comes to talk to me.
16.54	I explain to the duty manager what my reason is for being at the hotel, and what my research is about (vaguely). He agrees it is interesting, but does not allow me to sit at the couch next to the reception, since it is very close and he is worried I might be over hearing conversations between guests and employees, exchanging credit card details etc. He allows me to sit down the hall in the bar, where I still have a view on the reception desk, but won't be able to hear any conversations.
17.06	A gentleman in a suit comes walking into the bar with a backpack and paper. He throws the backpack onto a bar stool, while exhaling deeply. Bar staff approaches him and he orders a Corona.
...	...
18.01	More people in suits arrive back into the hotel and walk straight to the bar. One man in a suit comes walking into the bar looking for a plug to connect his laptop to. There are also some groups of travellers now (three duos, and one large group of 5).
18.08	It's quite busy now at the reception desk, with 5 people queuing up to get checked-in. A man who has been waiting for a while is doing something on his phone. For most it looks like it's all part of the process and they seem to be used to it, although one man seems pushed for time. He is noisy (blowing air) and checks his watch repeatedly.
18.16	It's getting very crowded now in the bar. Groups of people in suits are now coming to the bar ordering drinks.
18.21	Just talked to a traveller working on his laptop. I asked him if he goes to bars often when staying in hotels, to which he answered that he normally only uses them to socialize, but since he wanted a drink he came down. He has a report due at 8pm, so cannot talk to me very long. I ask him a couple of questions and find out some more about him and his travels. He is from the USA and travels to London and Dublin quite a lot. He is a management consultant helping with financial mergers and acquisitions. He sometimes travels 2 weeks per month, but also has quieter periods. He describes travel as "it's alright, you get used to it". He is married and has 4 children which he doesn't like leaving so often, but he does tell me that travelling is also "quite a lot of fun". He adds though that he likes travelling to places like London, because there is so much to do. He wouldn't like travelling to places that are "more cut off from the world". When I ask him about the luxuries you have in a hotel, he says that "being home is nicer", even with the luxuries of a 5-star hotel. I receive his e-mail address so hope to make an appointment with him for some other time. He tells me he wouldn't mind talking to me all night if he wouldn't have the report due.

Figure 4.5: Participant observation field notes

During the participant observation sessions in London hotels, data was recorded in the form of field notes. As Sunstein and Chiseri-Strater (2002: 56) note, "the difference between

doing fieldwork and just ‘hanging out’ is the writing”. For that reason, a laptop was taken to the sessions and full field notes were taken while the observation was taking place. The laptop, furthermore, helped to ‘blend in’ with other business travellers, since many would use their laptop in the hotel bar. Figure 4.5 shows an excerpt from the field notes, showing notes which were written-up after ‘mental’ notes were made during a conversation with a business traveller (Lofland & Lofland, 1995). Field notes were written up in Microsoft Word and subsequently uploaded to Atlas.ti for coding.

4.6.2 Ethicality of the research

Before discussing the ethicality of the research, it feels important to explain my personal relation to, and interest in, the topic of this thesis. Before starting this PhD, I gained research experience in relation to both the hospitality industry and environmental sustainability. I, furthermore, have working experience in hotels and other catering operations. My interest in researching business travellers’ behaviour was largely sparked through the literature review for my PhD and discussions with my supervisors. Looking back at the interviews with business travellers, I would argue that my lack of experiencing business travel first hand has benefited me during the research process. During the interviews I could pretend not to know much about travelling for business (even after a reasonable amount of interviews), which meant that travellers were generally interested to talk about their experiences and give their ‘expert’ opinion. My positionality made for many interesting conversations, providing me with some fascinating data.

In this study I targeted hotel managers, business travellers and travel managers. None of the interviewees were considered to be part of a vulnerable population. For this reason, all interviews were based on informed consent (Flick, 2009), with the caveat that the environmental issues were brought up half-way through. Interviewees were told, however, that they could skip any question they did not want to answer. All hotel managers and corporate travel managers were contacted before the interview, and were given information about the research, the researcher – including a web link to a university profile page – and could request the list of interview questions beforehand. For the purpose of the validity of the research, business travellers were not given full disclosure of all research aims (as already discussed in Section 4.2) at the start of the interview, to diminish them responding in a manner favourably prejudiced towards ERP. The interviewees were told they could request to stop the interview at any point or decide not to answer a particular question. Consent to use a digital recorder was requested from each interviewee, and the recordings

were only handled by the researcher. After the recording was transcribed and anonymised, the recording was erased.

Confidentiality was expected to be, and proved to be, an important issue for many participants, especially hotel managers. Due to the qualitative nature of the research and the close scrutiny of the data, full confidentiality was impossible, but all interviewees were advised that names and company names would be anonymised (Flick, 2009). Extra attention was given to respecting personal opinions. While judgements of the data are made throughout the discussions, in the following chapters I have attempted to let the discussions be guided by the available data (ibid). I did my best never to make judgemental remarks. Interviewees were asked if they were interested in staying informed about the progress of my research, to which eight responded positively (all from the purposive sample).

4.6.3 Selective plausibility, reliability and validity of the research

With the understanding that qualitative research is under consistent scrutiny over its legitimacy (Flick, 2009), the challenge of selective plausibility, reliability and validity of the study were considered in the discussion of empirical findings.

An important issue with the type of research that was undertaken for this thesis is the plausibility of the presented data. Selective plausibility relates to the researcher's discretion of providing data and quotes which are relevant to his or her argument, while leaving out other data that supports other, possibly opposing views. As Flick (2009: 384) argues: "one critique often expressed is that the interpretations in and results of qualitative research are made transparent and comprehensible for the reader only by the interweaving of 'illustrative' quotations from interviews." Due to the scale of the research, and because the same questions were not asked in each interview, comparing all data was often impossible. Indeed, it was impossible to discuss or present quotes for each point of view given by interviewees. I have, however, attempted to reduce the possibility of selective plausibility by providing the number of interviewees that supported or challenged a standpoint or argument. I have furthermore attempted, where there were distinct viewpoints, to provide quotes that best represent different views.

The reliability and rigour of the research were enhanced through the design of the research and the execution of the research. Regarding the latter, note taking and the use of a digital recording device enhanced the documentation of the data. I was the only researcher who undertook interviews and observations, and no other person was involved in the subsequent

stages of transcribing, coding and analysing of the data. The design of the research allowed for enhanced reliability through methods triangulation and source triangulation. I have used interviews, participant observation, and website analysis to collect data, and have gathered data from hotel managers, business travellers and company representatives. This allowed me to compare data received through different methods and from different sources.

The final issue given much attention in the qualitative research literature focuses on research validity. The issue of research validity relates to the influence a researcher, or the research process, can have on an interviewee or a subject of observation (Flick, 2009). Although it is hard to prove the validity of the interviews undertaken for this study, it was attempted to increase the validity of interviews with hotel managers by requesting proof of the claims they made about implemented CSR practices, either by requesting a tour of the hotel, or by asking for copies of policy documents, environmental certificates or bathroom signs, which also increased reliability of the interviewees' claims. The interviews with business travellers were more focussed on the interviewee's personal experiences and opinions and, therefore, these interviews were less structured and had more of a narrative structure. By asking less questions and letting interviewees talk about topics that they were interested in, it was attempted to enhance the validity. Furthermore, and as discussed in Section 4.2, the order of questions was established in such a way that the influence of social desirability was limited and, hence, validity was increased (Stoll-Kleemann et al., 2001).

4.7 Concluding remarks

In this chapter I have justified how the six research questions led to a research design and a choice of research methods. With the focus on business travellers' *in situ* practices, it was decided to focus the research on two actor groups: hotel managers and individual business travellers. The chapter has explained how sample designs were shaped and utilised to guide the recruitment of interviewees. To further triangulate the data gathered from these interviewees, a smaller number of company representatives were also approached, and further data was collected through participant observation. Furthermore, the chapter has addressed the difficulty of recruiting participants from all actor groups, and discussed some of the less successful attempts that were undertaken to gather further data. In the next four chapters the data that was collected from the three actor groups through interviews and observation will be analysed and discussed.

5

CSR PRACTICES, INFORMATION PROVISION AND AWARENESS IN LONDON HOTELS

The popularity of the term Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) is steadily growing in both academic research and the business world. In this chapter I will investigate how hotel managers perceive CSR as a potential marketing tool to enhance their business model. According to Carroll's (1979) seminal and influential four-part model²³ of CSR, the foundation of any company is its economic responsibility towards shareholders and a legal responsibility to operate within legislative and regulative bounds. Both of these responsibilities are described by Carroll as *required* by society. Following on from that, and increasingly present, is the *expectation* from society for companies to act 'ethically' (Carroll, 1979). This ethicality is understood as embedded in companies' environmental, social and economic responsibilities. Behaving in accordance with these expectations of corporate responsibility is increasingly perceived to benefit the company, giving it a competitive advantage (Holcomb, Upchurch, & Okumus, 2007). It can result in cost savings (Kirk, 1995), and an improved image amongst customers (Han et al., 2009). Although the premise of CSR is opposed by some – with criticism most notably based on Friedman's (1970) viewpoint that companies' primary responsibility is to make a profit – CSR has seen a steady growth in uptake in multinational corporations, small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) and other institutions (Crane & Matten, 2007; Spence & Rutherford, 2003; Spence, 2007). The hotel industry is no exception, focussing increasingly on CSR commitments and their publication (Holcomb et al., 2007; Kang et al., 2010).

In Chapter 3 it was discussed how and why hotels implement CSR policies and practices, and what potential barriers can disrupt this implementation process. In this chapter I will compare the findings from my empirical research in London with those from other studies, examining the amount of information provided to guests and staff, and the distribution channels used. The discussion in this chapter draws on data collected through website analyses and interviews with London hotel managers. While there have been exploratory studies into CSR information provided by hotel companies, to my knowledge none of these

²³ It should be noted that Carroll's 'pyramid' is based on the US business model and particularly relevant to large companies. This means that it is arguably less suited for non-US corporations or small and medium enterprises. Nevertheless, Carroll's model is highly influential in business teachings.

studies have gone beyond information that is publicly available online, or have considered why hotels communicate their CSR commitments as they do. The research discussed in this chapter triangulates the information on hotel websites with information given in the interviews by hotel managers. The aim of this chapter is to discuss how hotels communicate information about their CSR practices using online and ‘offline’ media, and how this information influences hotel guests and hotel staff.

The first half of this chapter is largely based on the analysis of 196 hotel websites, as well as the websites of hotels’ parent companies. These websites were analysed for information regarding hotels’ CSR commitments and environmental certifications they had acquired. As noted in the previous chapter, demand for publicly published CSR information is growing (Jose & Lee, 2007) with the internet playing an important role in offering information to an ever-growing population of internet users (Parguel et al., 2011). In 2004, 80 percent of Fortune 500 corporations discussed their corporate responsibility on their website (Bhattacharya & Sen, 2004), a figure which is estimated to have grown in recent years. A website is a highly accessible, interactive and relatively inexpensive medium for companies to display their commitments to society and the natural environment (Hsieh, 2012; Jose & Lee, 2007; Parguel et al., 2011).

For hotels, which are customer-facing companies, the website is an important tool to reach their customers. The fact that all hotels studied for this thesis had a website with a booking system can be interpreted as supporting this claim. The first part of this chapter works with the assumption, then, that websites are a low-cost portal through which hotels can advertise their CSR commitments to potential consumers. To do a comprehensive analysis, I make a distinction between CSR policies and practices. As was introduced in Chapter 1, I refer to *policies* as written documents outlining a company’s CSR intentions, commitments, vision and/or goals. These policy documents are written for the effective communication to a specified audience, for example, consumers, staff members, suppliers or shareholders. *Practices* are practical implementations and working methods that have been implemented in the company, like the introduction of energy or water saving technologies, or the phasing-out of toxic cleaning agents. It should be noted that *policies will not necessarily result in practices*, and *practices might not always be documented in policies*. Hotel companies can utilise their website to report on policies and practices, but the reporting of both policies and practices is no proof of actual implementation of CSR practices. While it is questionable whether website information is a reliable indicator of implemented practices in the hotel industry, the information that *is* provided could be used to gauge the importance of CSR to

the hotels or their guests. The amount and quality of information on hotel websites can be interpreted as an indicator of the value assigned to CSR by hotel management, but it can alternatively be interpreted as an indicator of the hotel management's *perceptions* of the importance of CSR information to potential guests, and the importance placed on being seen as a responsible company.

Because the link between information provision (e.g. on websites, or through advertisement and packaging) and customers' behaviour is a constant focus for discussion, for example in the ethical consumption and behaviour literature, I will start this chapter (Section 5.1) by explaining how the focus on website information does *not* necessarily mean that I suggest that the provision of better or more CSR information will result in more ethical behaviour or a higher uptake of ERP amongst hotel staff and guests. Sections 5.2 and 5.3 will scrutinize website information to investigate what CSR-related information is provided on hotel websites, and whether acquired environmental certifications are communicated through hotel websites. After this, the focus will turn to the information provided by hotel managers in interviews, with Section 5.4 discussing the on-site communication of their environmental practices to guests and staff, and Section 5.5 focusing on the knowledge and awareness of CSR practices amongst hotel staff²⁴. Finally, Section 5.6 will consider hotel managers' arguments for the status quo of CSR practices in the researched hotels.

5.1 A note on the link between information and behaviour

As the first part of this chapter will mainly focus on information provided on hotel websites, it is important to discuss the link between information provision and behaviour change. Most scholars agree that an individual's search for information is linked to his or her behavioural intention (Shiu, Walsh, Hassan, & Shaw, 2011). In Chapter 2 it was discussed how there are ongoing debates about the possible link between attitudes, intentions and behaviour (e.g. Carrington et al., 2010). There is, however, also an ongoing debate about the influence of knowledge and information on behaviour. Here I will briefly discuss the key competing perspectives in this debate to clarify how the link between information and behaviour is contested.

Scholars tend to agree that the provision of information can be an important aspect of behaviour change, including change towards what one might consider more ethical

²⁴ While I will extend this to the knowledge and awareness amongst business guests in the next chapter, for the purpose of clarity I will 'confine' the current discussion to the hotel industry.

behaviour, because without providing information, individuals cannot be expected to know why and how to change their current behaviour (Shaw & Clarke, 1999). Too little information can leave individuals feeling ill-equipped to decide whether to change their behaviour (Devinney et al., 2010). There could, however, also be too much information provided, leaving individuals overwhelmed with the decisions they have to make (Burgess, Harrison, & Filius, 1995, in Shaw & Clarke, 1999). Markkula and Moisander (2012), for example, discuss the ‘discursive confusion’ which surrounds sustainable consumption, with the authors arguing that the gap between knowledge and action partially exists due to the continuously changing and conflicting information that is available about sustainable consumption. For example, local produce has seen a strong rise in popularity in the past decade, and supermarkets and hospitality establishments are increasingly offering a wide range of locally sourced foods (Nichol, 2003). When considering the environmental impact of food consumption, however, it is often far from clear for consumers whether it is better, for example, to buy tomatoes which are produced locally in an artificially heated greenhouse, or whether to opt for the naturally ripened, and subsequently flown in, tomatoes from Spain (DeWeerd, 2009).

Another challenge is to determine where to place the emphasis of behaviour change, and how effective this change will be. Shaw and Newholm (2002), for example, discuss how ethical consumers can be torn between consuming more ethically or overall consuming less. A major focus point in many offices, for example, is the use of paper and printer ink (McDonald, 2011). Although much of this focus revolves around the use of recycled paper and recycling ink cartridges, this should be combined with initiatives which help avoid printing. While using recycled paper is important, more emphasis might need to be placed on changing printing behaviours altogether.

This ambiguity is one of the key challenges individuals face if they strive for greater sustainability through activities such as ethical consumption. It is often unclear what the best action to take is, and an activity can be perceived as environmentally-friendly, but simultaneously socially unethical, or vice versa. As Littler (2011: 28) points out, ethical consumption can be “downright contradictory”, as above examples show. What exacerbates this issue is that companies increasingly use ethical attributes to promote their products and services (see Chapter 3). For consumers it is hard to decide whether a product is truly more ethical than alternatives, or whether a company is ‘greenwashing’, which means that a company is misleading its consumers with ethical or environmental claims (Parguel et al., 2011). This has led to consumers often mistrusting information provided by companies

(Worcester & Dawkins, 2005). Furthermore, the meaning of information on product labels and different logos used by manufacturers can be unclear to consumers (Berry & McEachern, 2005). This confusion and mistrust can lead consumers to disregard information provided to them and to continue behaving as before.

Even if consumers are provided with the correct amount of information, which is also provided by a trusted source, other intermediating factors can moderate consumers' ability or will to act upon any inclination to buy the more 'ethical' alternative. Devinney et al. (2010), for example, argue that consumers who will need to weigh up factors such as costs and quality against ethics, will generally consider price and quality to be more important than ethical aspects. In their book 'The Myth of the Ethical Consumer', Devinney and colleagues argue that consumers do not really 'care', because they will generally disregard their ethical attitudes when faced with a choice between factors such as price, quality, brand name, and ethics. Chatzidakis et al. (2007) support this argument by arguing that individuals, who are concerned about the ethical impact of their consumption practices, can be found to 'neutralise', or disregard, their knowledge about Fair Trade products, so as to allow themselves to buy products which are not Fair Trade certified. Eckhardt et al. (2010), furthermore, found that consumers might not act upon the information that is provided to them, because behaviour changes are seen as an inconvenience, and Belk (1975) has pointed at the situational context impacting on consumers' behaviour. This situational context includes factors such as the physical and social surroundings, as well as time-related aspects and whether the individual is intending to find information and buy a product or not. Similarly, Ajzen moved away from the Theory of Reasoned Action model (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1980) by introducing the Theory of Planned Behaviour (Ajzen, 1991), which added the 'Perceived Behavioural Control' measure, referring to "people's perception of the ease or difficulty of performing the behaviour of interest" (ibid: 183).

All these mediating factors mean that the link between information and behaviour is a contested one. Since different studies researching this link have used different variables, very different results are produced. There are some studies that show that information does not have an effect on individuals' behaviour, while other studies show it does. Regarding the former, for example, Nilsson and Küller (2000) found that the knowledge of factual information about the environmental impact of travel only played a subordinate role in changing the intentions to travel of study participants. By comparing attitudes to travelling amongst civil servants (in this case experts on environmental issues) and the general public, the authors concluded that the more extensive knowledge amongst civil servants did not

result in a change of attitudes to driving. Polonsky et al. (2011), similarly researched the public's general knowledge of climate change, and found that there was no link between environmental knowledge and carrying out pro-environmental behaviour.

Other studies *have* found a (potential) link between information and behaviour. Rode, Hogarth and Le Menestrel (2008), for example, applied a methodology of experimental economics to assess consumers' willingness to pay extra for ethical products, and found that in experiments a premium was paid for an ethical product as long as information about the 'ethicality' of the product was provided. When study participants knew that a product was 'ethical' and, hence, had higher production costs, up to 90 percent of consumers were willing to pay a premium. It should, however, be noted that these findings possibly depend on the products in question, and that with differing products different results could be achieved. In another study, Eden et al. (2008) discussed the impact of primary (the look, feel, smell of products) and secondary (e.g. certification) information on ethical buying behaviour. They argued that there is a potential link between knowledge and buying behaviour, but also that consumers are becoming increasingly sceptic and distrustful of claims from secondary sources.

Considering the contrasting findings from these studies, this chapter is written with the understanding that information does not necessarily trigger a change in individuals' behaviour, but that the provision of information can be a first, and important, step to encouraging behaviour change. This is a central notion in the hospitality industry, where paying guests cannot be 'forced' to change their behaviour, but with proper information provision could be encouraged to change. Communication is therefore an important aspect of the implementation of CSR practices. Thus, on the understanding that the provision of information is the first step to giving guests a tool by which they can identify differences in CSR practices and hotels' commitments, the chapter traces in how far this first step is being achieved on different hotel websites. The discussions based on website analyses in this chapter should be interpreted as an effort to investigate the use of websites to communicate information about CSR policies and practices to stakeholders, and especially guests. Based on the discussion above, this is done without assuming an uncomplicated relationship of more information automatically having a positive effect towards more sustainable behaviour.

5.2 Online publication of CSR policies by London hotels

Most studies focussing on hotel websites research the effectiveness of the medium for marketing and sales (e.g. Murphy, Olaru, & Schegg, 2006; Schmidt, Cantallops, & Dos Santos, 2008), but some effort has been made to research the reporting of CSR policies. Holcomb et al. (2007) researched websites, annual reports and CSR reports of the 10 largest hotel companies worldwide, and found that environmental policies were the least reported CSR commitments. More recently, Hsieh (2012) researched the provision of information on environmental policies and practices by the 50 largest hotel companies, finding that 46 percent provided this information. Both these studies focus on large multinational hotel companies, which, as Bohdanowicz (2005) argues, are more inclined to take part in social and environmental reporting to enhance their brand image. Indeed, as Spence (2007) has argued, CSR in SMEs is less codified and more often implemented for personal motivation, and less often as marketing or public relations approaches. As Tzschentke et al. (2004) found, small accommodation owners often implemented sustainability practices as part of a moral obligation to reduce their environmental impact, rather than for public promotion.

Although the sample of 22 hotel managers did not allow for a comprehensive investigation of the implementation of CSR practices in MNCs and SMEs, there were some indications that there was a difference. While most interviewees worked for a multinational or large national corporation, four hotel managers worked in an independent hotel, or one that was part of a small chain (ID 2, 14, 15 and 18). These four hotels had all implemented CSR practices, but none were actively promoting these implementations on their website or in the hotel to enhance their image. Therefore, to allow for the potential differences between larger (often multinational) hotel chains and SMEs in the publication of CSR commitments, the hotels included in the research population for the website analysis were divided between large and smaller enterprises. Hotels were categorized as either part of one of the 10 largest hotel companies, or not, making it possible to analyse Bohdanowicz's (2005) claims on higher reporting rates amongst larger companies. Following Holcomb et al.'s (2007) methodology, the 10 largest hotel companies were extracted from a publication by HOTELS magazine (2011), called the HOTELS' 325, and are displayed in Table 5.1.

The size of the hotel also had an impact on the website(s) which were analysed. The large majority of the London hotel population were owned by a parent company; for only 21 of the 196 researched hotels no link with a parent company was found. Therefore, in the case where hotels had a parent company, both the hotel website and the parent company website

were analysed. It was found that most hotels had an individual website – or an individual sub-site, part of the chain’s website – together with a chain’s ‘booking’ website and sometimes a separate chain’s ‘corporate’ site which contained information like organisational structures, job vacancies and CSR commitments. Considering the designs and information provided on the different websites, it can be argued that they are written for different purposes and audiences. Hotel websites generally contained information about the hotel (room prices, and stylish photos and information of the hotel facilities and bedrooms), the location and an online booking system and, hence, are clearly aimed towards potential guests. The chains’ ‘booking’ websites are similar to the hotel websites, offering a booking service, information and photos about all hotels belonging to the chain. The chains’ ‘corporate’ websites, contrastingly, generally offered potential jobseekers information about vacancies, staff access to a secure-access intranet, and information about the organisation’s financial health, governance structures and often CSR commitments targeted at investors rather than guests.

Rank	Group	HQ	Hotels 2010	Rooms 2010	Revenue (x million)
1	Intercontinental Hotel Group	UK	4,437	647,161	£1,835
2	Marriott International Inc.	USA	3,545	618,104	\$11,814
3	Wyndham Worldwide	USA	7,207	612,735	\$4,360
4	Hilton Worldwide	USA	3,671	604,781	\$7,440
5	Accor SA	France	4,229	507,306	€6,100
6	Choice Hotels International Inc.	USA	6,142	495,145	\$642
7	Starwood Hotels & Resorts	USA	1,041	308,736	\$5,620
8	Best Western	USA	4,038	308,692	\$206
9	Carlson Hospitality	USA	1,064	162,143	\$1,500
10	Hyatt Global Corporation	USA	453	127,507	\$3,950

Table 5.1: The ten largest hotel companies in 2010
(adapted from HOTELS magazine (2011))

To scrutinise the information provided on the websites, an analysis of the website content was undertaken. The list with 196 London hotels was used during the website analysis, and for all hotels the website was found using an internet search. For hotels that were part of a chain, the content on the parent company website was also analysed. In most cases it was clear whether a hotel was part of a chain, but in some cases additional internet searches were needed to establish whether a hotel was independently owned or part of a chain. After an initial pilot of twenty hotel websites, available information on CSR commitments was divided into four content-specific categories: ‘natural environment’, ‘community’, ‘marketplace’ and ‘workforce’. These four categories were adapted from Holcomb et al.’s (2007) five categories; Holcomb et al.’s ‘vision and values’ category was excluded because

the analysis found that the information on vision and values generally related to policies and not necessarily to implemented practices. The other four categories all contained practical measures the hotels reported to have implemented. Using Holcomb's analysis, and the pilot of twenty hotel websites, a list of key terms for each category was established (Table 5.2). In February 2012, each website was analysed to determine whether the information on hotel websites and parent company websites included any of these key terms. When at least one of the key terms was mentioned, it was established that the website provided information about the relating category.

Natural environment	Community	Marketplace	Workforce
Energy management	Charitable donations	Supplier relationships	Health and safety
Water conservation	Community welfare	Supplier diversity	Staff communication
Waste management	Corporate giving	Local suppliers	Living Wage
Recycling	Education	Organic food/produce	Staff involvement
Renewable energy	Grants	Sustainable	Green Team
Combined heat and power installation	Staff volunteering	food/produce	Diversity/equal opportunities

Table 5.2: Key terms for website information search

The summary of the findings is shown in the two tables below (for a full table of findings and a list of all hotels see Appendix H). Overall, hotel websites provided far less information on CSR policies and practices than the parent company websites, which suggests that hotel websites are primarily for achieving bookings, while the parent company websites offer more information to stakeholders. As Table 5.3 shows, only 9 percent of all hotel websites provided information on CSR policies and practices, while this was 84 percent for parent companies. The parent company websites of the 10 largest hotel companies scored 100 percent on CSR reporting across all star-ratings, while the figures were significantly lower for parent company websites of 'other hotels', averaging 71 percent. Contrastingly, the hotel websites of 'other hotels' scored higher on information provision (11% versus 7%). A simple explanation for this would be that 'other hotels' are less often part of a chain with a standardised website system and, hence, these more individual hotels have information on their website instead of on a company-wide website.

In Table 5.4 the findings are shown by category, with the parent company websites being relatively consistent in the communication of the different categories. Parent company websites from the 10 largest hotel companies provided more information on all categories than other parent companies, which supports the findings from Bohdanowicz (2005). In contrast, 'other' hotel websites provided more information on all topics than websites from

hotels that were part of the largest 10 companies. On hotel websites, environmental policies and practices were most often reported (16%), followed at some distance by marketplace, community and workforce. As noted before, Holcomb et al. (2007) found that environmental policies were least reported in parent company publications. The fact that this analysis of London hotels shows that environmental policies are the ones most frequently shown on hotel websites, and are only behind community information on parent company websites, suggests that environmental policies are currently an important topic to publicise on hotel and parent company websites.

	5-star (n=46)		4-star (n=99)		3-star (n=26)		Budget (n=25)		Total average	
	H	PC	H	PC	H	PC	H	PC	H	PC
Largest 10	18	100	5	100	7	100	0	100	7	100
Others	18	56	11	67	13	59	0	100	11	71
All hotels	18	72	8	86	12	76	0	100	9	84

Table 5.3: CSR information on websites (as % of total), categorised by star-rating
(H = hotels; PC = parent companies)

	Environment		Community		Marketplace		Workforce		Total average	
	H	PC	H	PC	H	PC	H	PC	H	PC
Largest 10	16	100	5	100	4	100	4	100	7	100
Others	15	72	8	72	11	68	8	70	11	71
All hotels	16	84	7	84	8	82	7	83	9	84

Table 5.4: CSR information on websites (as % of total), categorised by topic
(H = hotels; PC = parent companies)

The difference in the information on hotel websites and parent company websites, and the generally low provision of information on hotel websites, has several implications. Historically, the hospitality industry has attracted less pressure to report their CSR performances than other, more energy intensive, industries like industrial manufacturing companies and the oil and gas industry (Hsieh, 2012; Middleton & Hawkins, 1998). At present, however, due to the increased pressure of civil society organisations²⁵, and more extensive legislative requirements of reporting CSR commitments and performances (Hsieh, 2012), hotel companies are increasingly reporting this information. Having found that this

²⁵ Tourism Concern (www.tourismconcern.org.uk), for example, is an independent UK charity that ‘fights exploitation in the global tourism industry’.

information is mainly available on the parent company websites, however, allows me to argue that management at the hotel or parent company head office does not perceive this information as important to guests booking stays.

As was discussed above, by analysing the content of hotel websites and corporate websites of parent companies, it can be argued that each is written for a different audience. On the website that is written for booking customers, the hotel website, CSR information was often not readily available. Even on corporate websites, CSR information was often on second or third level pages²⁶. One example of obscure links can be found on the website of Hilton Hotels. The UK website for Hilton Hotels – www.hilton.co.uk²⁷ (website accessed on March 20, 2012) – is the first port of call for UK residents requiring information about a Hilton hotel. On this website (and the sub-sites under the same address) there is information about individual hotels and a booking system, but no information about CSR policies and practices. To find this information one needs to select ‘Corporate Information’, followed by ‘Hilton Hotels Corporation’, which directs to the corporate website – www.hiltonworldwide.com (also accessed on March 20, 2012) – which has a link to corporate responsibility. This example shows that customers will need to be actively searching for this information to find it. Hence, I would argue that the chance of an average online customer, who is booking a hotel room at a Hilton hotel, coming across any CSR information, is low.

5.3 Online publication of environmental certifications by London hotels

Through an analysis of information on CSR policies and practices on hotel websites, it was argued in the previous section that the chance is small that an average consumer will be offered CSR information when booking a hotel. This argument was supported by the finding that the vast majority of information was situated on the parent companies’ website, as opposed to the hotel booking website, and that this information was generally to be found in an obscure location. To find CSR information, consumers would generally need to open several links to get to the relevant page. Many consumers can be expected to not have the will or time to do this. Indeed, ethical consumption literature has argued that time constraint has a considerable impact on ethical behaviour (e.g. Kleine et al., 2012; Moraes, Shaw, &

²⁶ This means that from the website’s homepage, one needs to click on two or three links to arrive at the page with CSR information.

²⁷ Hilton Hotels was taken as an example here, but is certainly not the only website to work in this way.

Carrigan, 2011). Hence, officially recognised certification schemes could theoretically provide a solution. Environmental certification has certain benefits that have the potential to help hotel management with their business, and the consumer with their buying decision, although there is criticism about their usability and effectiveness in the tourism industry (Black & Crabtree, 2007; Buckley, 2001; Chan, 2009; Font & Buckley, 2001; Font, 2002). In this section I will analyse London hotels' certifications from several well-known accreditation bodies, investigating how these are publicised on hotel websites. I will focus the analysis on the four certification schemes that were discussed most often by the interviewed hotel managers.

Certification schemes in the tourism industry generally work with conformity assessments, meaning that the accreditation body establishes a system, rules or goals, and assesses if the audited tourism organisation conforms to them (Font, 2002). In many cases different levels of certification can be achieved (e.g. bronze to gold, or 1 to 3 stars), depending on the level of commitment by the tourism organisation. Reasons for hotel management to commit to certification criteria could range from a concern about resource usage to using it as a marketing tool (Font, 2001). As discussed in Chapter 3, hotels can improve their image through certification, make cost savings or use it as a response to consumer pressures (Chan, 2009; Font, 2001). Well-known environmental certification logos are instantly recognisable to customers, and these logos are third-party proof of a hotel's environmental performance. While CSR-related information on hotel websites can be interpreted as mere intentions, or worse, greenwashing²⁸, most certification schemes audit hotels and, hence, assure customers that hotels have actual environmental practices. Furthermore, unlike written policies, environmental certifications are generally accredited to individual hotels, not to parent companies. A major criticism, however, of certification schemes is the high costs involved with accreditation. While major companies can afford to pay high membership and auditing fees, smaller hotels might choose to implement CSR practices without pursuing certification to avoid the fees (Font & Buckley, 2001).

Font and Buckley (2001) show that there are over a hundred certification schemes for tourism and hospitality organisations, many overlapping in geographical scale and sector. While international schemes are recognizable and usable for a large number of consumers, the criteria for certification are generally weaker. Certification schemes that are focused on a

²⁸ 'Greenwashing' can be defined as "tactics that mislead consumers regarding the environmental practices of a company or the environmental benefits of a product or service" (Parguel et al., 2011).

particular geographical location can focus more intently on local or national specificities, but the smaller scale means they are often less recognisable and usable for (particularly foreign) customers (Buckley, 2001). Certification schemes in the tourism industry can generally be divided into destination quality certifications – focused on activities and achievements of an entire destination, like a city, area or island – and environmental performance certifications for tourism providers – focused on the activities and achievements of one organisation or company (ibid). The analysis in this chapter is focussed on the latter, although the EarthCheck/Green Globe 21 certification scheme (which will be used in the analysis) also certifies destinations. For the purpose of this research, the London hotels have been analysed with a focus on four different schemes with differing scales and missions: the national Green Tourism Business Scheme and the national Considerate Hoteliers membership; the international EarthCheck/Green Globe 21 scheme; and finally the national restaurant scheme by the Sustainable Restaurant Association. I will briefly discuss these certification schemes below.

5.3.1 Analysed certification schemes

The *Green Tourism Business Scheme* (GTBS) was originally set up by Visit Scotland in 1998, but is now the only official certification scheme in the United Kingdom, validated by Visit Britain. Criteria for certification comprise over 120 elements which are updated every two years (Font, Haas, Thorpe, & Forsyth, 2001). Hotel companies are encouraged, however, to identify their own priorities and shape their own programme of environmental targets (ibid). There are three gradations: bronze, silver and gold (Figure 5.1). Hotels become bronze certified if they have good basic environmental practice. Silver is awarded to hotels that have very good environmental practice, and gold is awarded to hotels with excellence in environmental practice (GTBS, 2011). Achieving a gold standard puts the hotel in a good position to achieve the ISO 14001 standard (Font et al., 2001), a certifiable environmental management system. The GTBS is a well-established scheme in the UK with over 2000 members and fairly stringent criteria. A total of eleven out of 22 interviewed hotel managers said that they had acquired a certification from the GTBS.



Figure 5.1: GTBS award plaques

Considerate Hoteliers was founded in 1991 by London hotels, with memberships becoming available for Greater London hotels in 1999 and hotels throughout the UK in 2003. Members are supposed to put their *best efforts* into achieving sustainable results in the following areas: air, water, land and habitats, energy, built environment, access and mobility, noise, waste and recovery, resources, food and materials, and health, safety and personnel (Considerate Hoteliers, 2010). The scheme is not like the other certification schemes discussed here, since it provides membership to applicants without any further gradations (Figure 5.2). It is further ambiguous what is meant by ‘best efforts’, since this term is not quantified. The scheme is included in this analysis because it is a popular scheme amongst London hotels, but it could be argued that the membership is a rather weak commitment by hotels. Nine hotel managers said that they were a member of Considerate Hoteliers.



Figure 5.2: Considerate Hoteliers membership plaque

EarthCheck started off as Green Globe 21, which had its roots in the 1992 Rio Summit. The Sustainable Tourism Cooperative Research Centre, which was established by the Australian government, founded a set of benchmark and reporting tools, referred to as *EarthCheck*, that were consequently used for certification purposes for the Green Globe 21 certification. When Green Globe was bought in 2008 by an American company, the entire certification scheme became known as *EarthCheck* (EarthCheck, 2011). Whereas the technical detail and criteria of Green Globe 21 were low and weak (Buckley, 2001), the merger with *EarthCheck* has resulted in a stricter set of criteria. The scheme consists of sustainability certification, carbon footprint calculations and consulting services. The certification consists of four gradations: ‘bronze’, ‘silver’, ‘gold’ and ‘platinum’ (Figure 5.3). To receive a bronze certification, a hotel has to comply with national legislation, and has to have completed a benchmarking assessment. The silver accolade is awarded to hotels that comply with national legislation, implement environmental and social sustainability policies and document and communicate their achievements. After being a certified hotel for five consecutive years, hotels are awarded a gold membership, and another five years results in a platinum certification. The scheme has been long established, has fairly strict certification

criteria, and has a strong reputation in the industry, but it could be argued that hotels are less motivated to further implement environmental practices once the silver status is achieved. If they keep the same level of practices, without major improvements, they will receive the gold and platinum membership status. Three hotel managers discussed EarthCheck or Green Globe 21, with one being certified at the time of the interview.



Figure 5.3: EarthCheck award plaques

Finally, the certification scheme run by *Sustainable Restaurant Association* (SRA) was analysed, since most hotels have an in-house restaurant and food sourcing is an increasingly important part of environmental sustainability for hotels. The SRA is a not-for-profit organisation that helps “member restaurants source food more sustainably, manage resources more efficiently and work more closely with their community” (SRA, 2010). The scheme covers 14 areas of sustainability, and restaurants are awarded 1 to 3 stars for their achievements. Restaurants can also gain member status, by implementing at least 3 of the 14 areas of sustainability each year (Figure 5.4). Four interviewed hotel managers said that their restaurants were SRA members, with at least three restaurants SRA certified.



Figure 5.4: SRA member and award plaques

5.3.2. *Certifications and their publication*

The aim of the certification analysis was to explore how many hotels belong to these four schemes, as well as establishing how these schemes were publicised on the hotel websites.

The information about certified hotels was obtained through member lists on the certification bodies' websites (Considerate Hoteliers, n.d.; EarthCheck, n.d.; GTBS, n.d.; SRA, n.d.). In Table 5.5 the awarded certifications are summarized by hotel star-rating and certification scheme (see Appendix I for an overview of the researched hotels and their certifications). Table 5.6 shows that the percentage of hotels awarded a certificate by one (or more) of the four certification bodies decreases significantly in accordance with the star-rating. Almost 70 percent of five-star hotels have at least one certification, while this is only 8 percent for budget hotels. I consider it a fair assumption that hotels with a certification will at least have some CSR policies and practices in place. This consequently means that the information on the individual hotel websites, discussed in the previous section of this chapter, is less than actual policies and practices. Earlier in this chapter (see Table 5.3) it was shown, for example, that 18 percent of five-star hotels provided information about CSR policies and practices on their hotel website, while Table 5.6 shows that 70 percent of hotels are actually certified for their policies and practices. This means that there are many environmental practices which go unreported on the websites. Results are similar for the other star-ratings, with the number of certified hotels higher for each star-rating than the number of hotels that publicise their CSR policies and practices on their individual websites.

Hotels	GTBS²⁹	CH	EC	SRA	Total
5-star (<i>n</i> =46)	18	25	1	4	48
4-star (<i>n</i> =99)	27	18	7	11	63
3-star (<i>n</i> =26)	8	4	0	0	12
Budget (<i>n</i> =25)	2	0	0	0	2
Total (<i>n</i> =196)	55	47	8	15	125

Table 5.5: Number of certifications awarded to researched hotels, divided by star-rating and scheme

Hotels	No. with certification(s)	% with certification(s)
5-star (<i>n</i> =46)	32	70%
4-star (<i>n</i> =99)	43	43%
3-star (<i>n</i> =26)	9	35%
Budget (<i>n</i> =25)	2	8%
Total (<i>n</i> =196)	86	39%

Table 5.6: Number and percentage of researched hotels with certification(s), divided by star-rating

²⁹ GTBS = Green Tourism Business Scheme; CH = Considerate Hoteliers; EC = EarthCheck; SRA = Sustainable Restaurant Association

Because certification audits are undertaken by independent organisations, publicising the achievement of a particular certification standard is arguably less prone to being interpreted as ‘greenwashing’ than publicising self-reported CSR commitments. Accusations of ‘greenwashing’ can be refuted by the publication of the logos of achieved third-party certifications. The trend amongst the researched hotels, however, was to *not* publicise awarded certifications. Hotel websites³⁰ were analysed for information about possible environmental certifications hotels had acquired. As Table 5.7 shows, almost 73 percent of certifications were not publicised on hotel websites, neither by the use of the logo or by mentioning it in writing.

	GTBS ⁷	CH	EC	SRA	TOTAL	
					No.	%
No. of certifications awarded	55	47	8	15	125	100
Hotel websites showing logo of achieved certification scheme	18	5	1	2	26	21
Websites providing written information about achieved certification scheme	5	3	0	0	8	6
Websites without any information about certification	32	39	7	13	91	73

Table 5.7 Publication of certifications on hotel websites

To summarize, the analysis of hotel websites has shown that information provision is low, with only 9 percent of websites providing information on CSR policies and practices. An analysis of awarded environmental certifications to the hotels shows, however, that the number of hotels having implemented some policies and practices is far higher. Nevertheless, hotels have not publicised their certifications on their website, with only 21 percent of hotel websites showing a logo and 6 percent discussing the certification. These findings support that hotels’ CSR commitments are not communicated to the guests visiting the hotels’ website. Above findings show that hotels often refrain from publicising their CSR commitments, with the result that some customers will be unaware of hotels’ CSR commitments.

It is worth mentioning two issues relevant to this research. Firstly, a limitation of analysing data on websites is the reliance on the incentive of the hotel companies to provide this data (Hsieh, 2012). Secondly, some consumers will not use the internet, or the hotel’s website, to

³⁰ Hotel websites, rather than parent company websites, were analysed since all four certification schemes certify individual hotels, rather than hotel companies.

book their hotel room, and so will not come into contact with information on CSR practices, even if it is available. Once a hotel room is booked by an individual, however, it can be expected that he or she will turn into a guest and stay at the hotel (barring unexpected circumstances). Hotel management, then, has further opportunities to provide guests with information about their CSR commitments in the hotel. If and how this information is provided is discussed in the next section.

5.4 On-site publication of CSR practices by London hotels

5.4.1 Implemented CSR practices according to hotel managers

Hsieh (2012) undertook an analysis of websites, but then suggested that interviewing hotel management could provide more comprehensive information, addressing limitations of website analysis. My own research design followed a similar path to address these limitations. I interviewed twenty-one London hotel managers and one head office employee, working in hotels with different star-ratings (see Table 4.1 in the previous chapter) and having different job descriptions, but all responsible for the management of CSR policies and practices in their hotel (see Table 4.2 in the previous chapter for a full list of job descriptions). The aim of the interviews was to establish the policies and practices that were implemented in the hotels, allowing a comparison with the findings from the website and certification analysis. Furthermore, the hotel managers were questioned about the methods of communicating the hotel's CSR commitments and acquired certifications to guests.

Table 5.8 provides background information which will be used for a comparison with the interview data. It shows the findings from the website and certification analyses from the previous sections for the 21 hotels whose managers were interviewed. As with the overall findings, the CSR information on the parent company websites is more frequent than on the hotel websites. This might be linked to the research method, as hotels without any CSR policies often declined to take part in the research. According to the websites of the certification bodies, the majority of hotels were certified for their CSR commitments, but like the overall sample of 196 hotels, these certifications were often not publicised on hotel websites.

Hotel managers were questioned about CSR practices implemented in their hotel, with questions relating to the previously discussed aspects: environmental practices, social practices, marketplace/supplier policies and staff involvement. This was not a checklist exercise, nor were examples given; managers freely mentioned relevant CSR practices. This

means that these findings form a relatively accurate representation of the hotel managers' focus and understanding of the hotel's CSR commitments, but as a consequence hotel managers might have forgotten or neglected to mention certain practices. Questions were also asked regarding the communication of acquired certifications and the visibility of certification plaques in the hotel.

	Interviews	Website information (total % of all 4 categories)		Hotels with certification	Certification publicised
		H	PC		
5-star hotels	9	28	79	9	3
4-star hotels	5	15	100	2	1
3-star hotels	4	19	25	3	2
Budget hotels	3	0	100	0	0

Table 5.8: Researched hotels' website information and certifications
(H = hotels; PC = parent companies)

Findings from the interviews show that many hotels had implemented CSR practices. Most commonly, hotel managers argued to have implemented environmental practices, with all hotels having back-of-house (i.e. behind the scenes) recycling facilities in place, with only three managers mentioning being in the process of giving guests the opportunity to recycle in their rooms. Indeed, most practices were out of sight of the guests. There were some practices that involved guests taking a particular action, like the key activation systems or dual flush toilets, but the towel and linen reuse programmes seemed the only CSR practices where guests were asked to consciously consider their impact on the environment. Eleven managers discussed the opportunity for guests to request their linen not to be changed, or contrastingly, that linen was not changed unless requested otherwise. Furthermore, thirteen hotels had a policy which allowed guests to reuse their towels. All environmental practices discussed by the hotel managers are displayed as black bars in Figure 5.5.

Although it was mostly environmental practices that were implemented, there were ten hotels that also had social practices (see white bars in Figure 5.5). Five managers mentioned having fundraising activities in or outside the hotel for charity, and five hotels gave monetary support to local, national or international charities, like WaterAid (ID 10e, ID 20), Save the Children (ID 5), Women's Aid Wandsworth (ID 8), Springboard (ID 15), Starlight Foundation (ID 4), and World Childhood Foundation and Education Africa (ID 13). Two hotels donated materials like linen and towels to local homeless charities. Three managers

discussed how their hotel, a few times per year, provided rooms to local charities free-of-charge.

To enhance comparability with the website information, hotel managers were also asked if and how they involved suppliers (light grey bar) and employees (dark grey bars). Eight hotels worked with some or all of the sourcing standards set by the SRA, which focus on environmentally positive farming, local and seasonal food, sustainable fish, ethical meat and dairy, and fair trade produce³¹. Five hotels organised activities to support the local community with their employees, like painting school buildings on a volunteer day. A total of 15 hotels had a team in place – often referred to as the Green Team – that made decisions on environmental practices in the hotel. In all cases employees from the hotels were involved in these teams, and in the hotels with a Green Team, all interviewees were part of their respective Green Team.

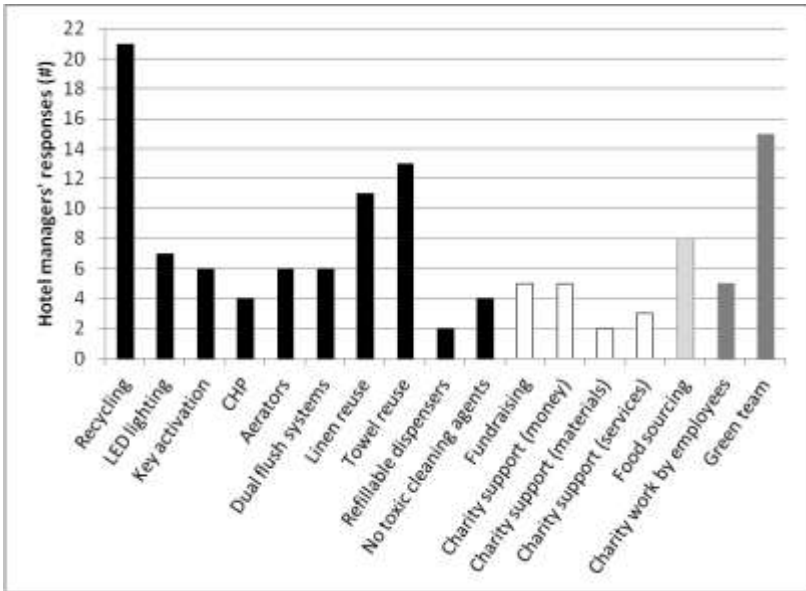


Figure 5.5: CSR practices in researched hotels as mentioned by interviewees³² (colours relate to 4 categories as used in section 5.1: black - environment; white - community; light grey - marketplace; dark grey - employee involvement)

³¹ For more information, see the Sustainable Restaurant Association website (accessed May 02, 2013): <http://www.thesra.org/about-us/what-is-sustainability/sourcing/>

³² ‘Recycling’: back and front-of-house recycling of waste; ‘Key activation’: electronic room keys which activate electricity supply to bedroom; ‘CHP’: combined heat and power systems use heat generated during electricity generation for heating purposes; ‘Aerators’: placed in water taps to mix water with air for higher pressure; ‘Dual flush systems’: toilets which offer the user the possibility to flush two different quantities of water; ‘No toxic cleaning agents’: only natural and/or biodegradable cleaning products used by housekeeping; ‘Fundraising’: requests donations from guests for charity; ‘Charity support (money)’: donate a share of hotel profits to charities; ‘Charity support (materials)’: donate materials like old linens, food, books etc. to charities; ‘Charity support (services)’: allow charities to use hotel services like meetings rooms free of charge; ‘Food sourcing’: commit to

Having established what practices were implemented in the researched hotels, it could be questioned how significant these practices are. After all, LED or energy-saving lighting is becoming a common alternative to incandescent light bulbs, and the financial profitability of these new forms of lighting has been well established (Page & Page, 2011). Similarly, recycling has become a common practice, and dual flush toilet systems are ‘mainstream’ in many Western countries. Fundraising for charities amongst staff or guests does not impact the hotel’s costs and key activation systems have become increasingly standard in new-built hotels and can bear considerable savings on utility costs. It could be argued that CSR practices are mainly implemented when they save costs and have little impact on hotels’ core business; this approach is often referred to as a light green or weak sustainability approach (Duffy, 2002; Neumayer, 2003).

For now I will return to the discussion on information provision, as I will continue the discussion of the true impact of these CSR practices later in this chapter (Section 5.6). In the discussion of certification schemes in Section 5.3, I argued that hotels seem to implement more practices than are being publicised on their websites. With the information from the interviews it can similarly be argued that hotels have implemented more CSR practices than they communicate on their website. The amount of information about CSR commitments shared on the 21 hotel websites is less than the actual practices implemented.

5.4.2 Information on CSR practices provided in hotels

To further interrogate these findings, next I analyse the information provided to the guests inside the hotels. As argued above, hotels still have the possibility to inform the guest about their CSR commitments through communications in the hotel. This could heighten awareness amongst guests and result in a higher uptake and participation in CSR practices by guests. Interview data shows again, however, that most CSR practices are not communicated to the guests (Figure 5.6). Signs in the bedroom and bathroom were most frequent, which is not surprising as these are designed to advise the guests about the linen and towel reuse programmes. Other modes of communication were less used, with eight managers stating that there was information on the hotel website, while only three hotels had information in the guest directory – an information folder or booklet in the guestroom – and three hotels instructed reception staff to mention CSR practices upon check-in. Two hotels had CSR commitments displayed in the lobby, although in one case this was in the

sourcing food with a predetermined standard, like local, organic or sustainable; ‘Green Team’: team of hotel staff that manages the implementation of CSR practices.

back of the lobby next to the toilets (see Figure 5.7), not a place a guest would necessarily go while checking in.

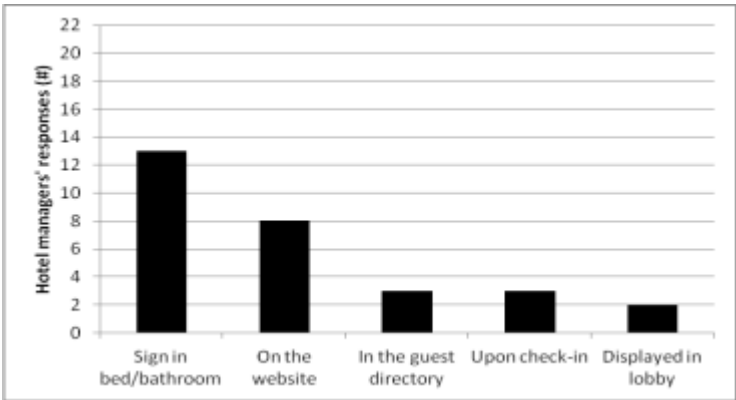


Figure 5.6: Information provision in researched hotels

It is important to highlight again that the findings discussed in this section so far are the hotels' CSR policies and practices *according to the hotel managers*. This means, for example, that the number of hotels providing information on their website differed from the number of interviewees' who stated that the hotel website contained this information. Eight managers noted that their hotel's website contained the information, but in reality 6 hotel websites and 14 parent company websites contained this information. This means that the interviewed managers might not have had complete knowledge of the information provided on the hotel website, and they might not have made a distinction between the hotel website and the parent company website as I have done in this chapter. Although some caution should be taken when interpreting these findings, then, I would argue that it is reasonable to conclude from the website analysis and interview findings, that there is a difference between the amount of CSR practices implemented in the researched hotels, the interviewed hotel managers' awareness of the available information about CSR practices, and the information that is actually provided to hotel guests on the hotel website and in the hotel.

5.4.3 Information on environmental certifications provided in hotels

A similar discussion can be had about the on-site communication of acquired awards and certifications. The website analysis in Section 5.3 has already shown that many hotels did not promote their certifications online. Here I will focus on the 21 hotels, from which I interviewed the managers, to discuss how these hotels promoted their certifications in the hotel. Most of the researched hotels (14 of 21 hotels) were certified by one of the four investigated certification bodies. When questioning all 21 hotel managers about the importance of environmental certifications, there were considerable differences in their



Figure 5.7: CSR commitments displayed in a hotel lobby

answers. While most managers (16 of 21) were positive about acquiring certifications, the impact certifications could have on attracting guests was questioned by many. The chief engineer – and self-proclaimed “*environmental fanatic*” – of a certified five-star hotel argued:

“if you’ve got accreditations where independent people have come in and audited you, and then you can put those banners on your website or even win an award, it certainly would raise your profile in the industry. I’m not sure about anywhere else, but certainly in the industry it would. A few years ago you could say: ‘ooh we do this wonderful thing and that wonderful thing’, but how much of it is greenwash? The way forward is accreditation, you know.” (ID 5)

This quote gives an insight into two aspects of certification. Firstly, the manager echoed points made earlier about the potential to use certifications as proof of CSR commitments to stakeholders. But secondly, he questions the impact these certifications had on the image of the hotel. He argued that certifications improved the profile of the hotel amongst hoteliers, but questioned if they would have an impact on other stakeholders. Other hotel managers had a similar point of view. The director of engineering in a 5-star hotel talked about the Green Tourism Business Scheme certification they acquired:

“Having a plaque on the wall, saying you’re a number-one sustainable business, will that bring you more guests? Probably not. So, you know, you can see a plaque behind [me] that says we’ve got [...] a bronze award; that’s our first attempt. We got into the bronze category from day one. Disappointing we didn’t get into the silver, but we just missed out on the silver category. [...] The business is very proud of that and next year I want to be gold, I want to miss the silver rating and go straight for gold.” (ID 6)

Most certification bodies will provide the hotel with a plaque to display in the hotel, and will allow the hotel to print the certification logo on hotel materials. As with the previously quoted manager, this interviewee believed promoting their bronze certification would not draw in extra business. At the same time, however, he seemed proud to have achieved the certification and wished to progress to a gold standard at their next audit. What is most interesting about this quote is the location in which the interview took place. Although the manager argued the business was very proud of achieving the certification, the plaque was placed on top of a stack of books in his office, located in the basement of the hotel, far

removed from all guests and probably most employees. The hotel had no information on their website about the certification either. It could be questioned whether the hotel management would give the plaque a more prominent place in the hotel and provide more information on the website if the hotel had acquired a gold award, but at the time of the interview hotel management had apparently decided that being “proud” of receiving the certification does not equal using it as a promotional tool.

I will focus on the gap between actual practices and the information provision, and how this influences (business) guests’ behaviour, in the next chapter. For now I will continue to focus on the hotel and hotel managers, and further investigate whether this apparent lack of information provision is also exhibited towards employees (or if storing certification plaques in a basement office is a rarity). I ask if and how information is distributed amongst different levels of staff, and, according to hotel managers, whether this has an influence on the interest of junior staff members in hotels’ CSR commitments.

5.5 Information provision and involvement of hotel staff

Up to this point, two of the main conclusions relating to information provision are 1) the major difference between information provided on parent company websites and hotel websites, and 2) the limited on-site communication of CSR practices to guests. Both conclusions prompt questions about the information provision to hotel staff members. The first conclusion – corporate websites contain more information than hotel websites – triggers a question of the effectiveness of chains’ headquarters to distribute CSR information to individual hotels. The second conclusion – the limited information provided to guests – can be related to hotel staff, questioning whether the information provision to employees is similarly limited. In this section I will discuss the influence of parent companies on hotel management, and how hotel management is informing and training their staff about the hotel’s and parent company’s CSR commitments. Although the perspective of junior hotel staff is beyond the scope of this study, hotel managers are in a good position to comment on their perspective of their staff’s involvement and awareness of CSR policies and practices, which will give an indication of the awareness amongst junior and senior staff members.

As most sustainability policies in the hospitality industry were formulated in parent company headquarters, this seems the most logical point to start this discussion. Most hotels in London are owned by large, often international, parent companies. From the 196 hotels that formed the research population, only 21 were independent, and from the 22 hotels that

took part in the interview stage, only three were independent or independently operated. The remaining 18 hotels were all part of a chain, and, with the exception of one hotel, got instructions from their head office to commit to sustainability. International chains generally have a chain-wide framework for individual hotels, which allows individual hotel managers to decide which practices to implement in their hotel. In this situation, the international head office will set chain-wide goals on issues like energy and water savings, waste management and community or charity work. How to achieve these goals is then left to the hotel management to decide, since issues like environmental conservation, cultural conservation, and community support have different levels of relevancy, and take on varying forms, in different countries. National parent companies, in contrast, can be more specific about their expectations of individual hotels, but will often also leave the details of implementation to hotel management. An example of an environmental practice which was adopted by a London hotel (ID 3) without chain involvement was the promotion of travel to central London by ferry, since the hotel was conveniently located next to the river Thames. Another example which is specific to London hotels was the implementation of the London Living Wage in one hotel (ID 9) that was part of a small family-owned chain. The London Living Wage campaign promotes a higher minimum wage for jobs in London, since the costs of living in the capital are higher than in the rest of the UK (Dominiczak, 2012). One hotel chain allowed individual hotels to make certain decisions, but also provided its hotels with a manual for the generic practices that needed to be complied with. The environmental manager, working at the chains' head office, discussed this method of communication with individual hotels:

“so we’ve got the energy and environment guide, which tells [employees] how to save energy and all the rest of it in their hotels. In terms of corporate responsibility or sustainability we don’t actually have a programme in place for training across the board. [...] We’ve got [some] materials that have gone out to explain why we do corporate responsibility, and that was given to them, but it’s very passive. We just give them the information and expect them to read about it, so you know, does it work, probably not. But the information is there if they’re interested in it, so...” (ID 12)

The interviewee is sceptical about the impact head office's communication efforts – which are largely *his* efforts – have on the awareness of managers and employees in the individual hotels. He argues that the overall approach from the head office does not work, but in the continuation of the interview he seemed to have little problem shrugging off his

disappointment, as he argued that issues like engagement and involvement of employees in the environmental practices were tasks for hotel managers, not the head office.

The other 21 interviews were undertaken with managers employed in a single hotel, who were in charge of implementing the CSR policies and practices at the hotel level. These interviewees were mostly positive about the support they received from their head office, which either means that hotel managers appreciated the information they received from head office more than the quoted head office manager believed, that other head offices provided more help to individual hotels, or that respondents provided me with a ‘company-approved’ answer. From their personal perspective, the interviewed managers were generally positive about implementing practices which would improve their hotel’s environmental and social performances. I would argue, however, that this is not surprising, since the implementation of CSR practices was part of their official job descriptions and, hence, they were empowered to make a substantial contribution to the hotel’s operations, and their wages would arguably reflect these responsibilities. This is where the discussion on staff involvement becomes particularly interesting, because, as I will argue, these two points – empowerment and fair wages – were often an obstacle to getting junior staff members to commit to the implementation of CSR practices. The challenge for many interviewed hotel managers was involving all employees:

“I think some staff members thrive on it, they get involved, and they get whole hearted[ly] involved, and some staff members don’t give a... they don’t bat an eyelid.” (ID 6)

This quote is from an interview with the director of engineering in the London flagship hotel of one of the world’s largest hotel chains. Because it is the flagship hotel, many young management trainees work for short periods in the hotel as part of their training. The manager argued it is these trainees that increasingly show interest in the environmental practices of the chain, while the older, more established, employees are often not interested in participating in environmental and social practices. While age or the time worked in the hotel (i.e. being settled into a routinized working rhythm) might determine employees’ disposition to CSR practices, employees’ responses to CSR practices are arguably determined by a larger range of factors including gender, education, religion, personal values, job satisfaction, rewards and sanctions, and ethical codes³³. My research did not

³³ See O’Fallon and Butterfield (2005) for research on a range of determinants influencing ethical behaviour.

attempt to find or test different determinants, but interviews with hotel managers would lead me to argue that the job description, and the CSR practices which impact on this job description, have a major influence on employees' attitudes towards the implementation of CSR practices. I will explain this by focusing on two different roles which are present in every hotel, namely a front desk receptionist and a housekeeper, and explain how the implementation of CSR practices would impact on their working duties.

As was discussed earlier in this chapter, three hotels expected their reception staff to tell arriving guests about the hotel's CSR practices. While informing the guest does not add to the physical demands of a job as a receptionist, it could impact on psychological demands. As a receptionist, an important aspect of the job is what is referred to as 'emotional labour'. Hochschild (1983) has argued that working in customer-facing jobs in the service industries is significantly different from work in other industries, because employees are expected to manage their emotions, because their emotional demeanour is part of the service provided to customers. In this sense, receptionists are not solely paid for their technical skills, but also for their smile (Seymour, 2000). Receptionists are confronted with stressful situations, but will always need to put on a smile. Intense emotional labour has been discussed to increase stress, lower job satisfaction and increase turnover in the hospitality industry (Pienaar & Willemse, 2008; Pizam, 2004).

Receptionists are the 'face' of the hotel and, therefore, most guests will come to them when making a complaint. Furthermore, when informing guests about CSR practices, the receptionists are the individuals who will most likely receive comments from guests who are not in favour of being informed about, or involved in the execution of, these practices³⁴. This means that CSR practices will most likely not influence front desk staff in a physical manner, but it might in a psychological way if they come into situations where they have to deal with discontented guests. These situations can negatively impact on employees' job satisfaction, increase stress levels and result in a desire not to communicate CSR practices to guests.

In contrast to the effect on receptionists, housekeeping staff will often have to change their own working methods – which results in a change in physical demands – to incorporate CSR practices in their daily working routine. An example that might reduce physical demands is the linen reuse programme, with the amount of bedding that needs to be changed

³⁴ As I will discuss in the next section, many hotel managers believed that guests did not want to be involved or bothered with CSR practices.

potentially decreasing. Contrastingly, back-of-house waste recycling has the potential to increase the physical workload because waste will need to be divided by hand. Furthermore, banning the usage of toxic chemicals for cleaning has major benefits for the environment and hotel staff (by lessening the potential of skin rash and allergies for example), but in some cases the alternative eco-friendly products may need to be applied at a higher frequency for the same result. This will add to an already high workload³⁵ for a job that is notoriously underpaid. While the London Living Wage campaign has made considerable progress in securing better wages for hotel employees in London (Dominiczak, 2012), the industry, and especially housekeeping, remains characterised by low paid jobs with high turnover rates (Houdré, 2008; Iverson & Deery, 1997). Housekeeping staff, then, might not be positive about CSR practices if they add to workload, because it can make their job, which is already hard, even harder. The Health and Safety Manager from a 3-star hotel group stated the following about staff interest in CSR practices:

“Not interested, to be totally honest. I’m chasing them, not the other way around. You get the odd person who is quite, I’d like to say green friendly or whatever the term is, and they’ll [say:] ‘have you seen this’, which is great. But generally people have hardly enough time to separate paper. So... I think most people just want to get through the day don’t they, and get home.” (ID 18)

There is a sense from this quote that the manager believes that hotel staff are not against CSR practices for moral reasons, but because of the added workload. Because of the tight schedules these staff have to work with, and particularly housekeeping staff, CSR practices that add extra tasks would by many be met with negativity. Six other managers similarly argued that frontline staff exhibited limited interest in changing their behaviour or routines to enhance the hotel’s CSR performance, because it would complicate their job or create more work without additional pay. While staff at the chains’ head offices often writes the environmental policy, these same policies are generally focused on the hotel’s working methods and will often have little effect on the routines and behaviour of employees working at head office. The policy, however, can in theory have a large effect on the work routines of frontline staff, especially in departments like housekeeping and, hence, a gap could exist between the intentions of head office and the commitment by frontline staff.

³⁵ I have experience of working six months in a 4-star hotel where housekeeping staff were expected to clean 15 rooms during an 8-hour shift. It is likely to be a fair average. These numbers refer to cleaning a room for arriving guests (so not a stay-over). Cleaning a room includes changing bed linens, cleaning the bathroom and bedroom (including wiping surfaces, cleaning crockery and kettle, dusting, vacuuming, and waste disposal).

More research is needed into the working conditions and attitudes of frontline staff towards CSR practices to draw any such conclusions.

Another issue here is what management literature refers to as ‘staff empowerment’. Bowen and Lawyer (1992: 32) define empowerment as “sharing with frontline employees four organizational ingredients: (1) information about the organization’s performance, (2) rewards based on the organization’s performance, (3) knowledge that enables employees to understand and contribute to organizational performance, and (4) power to make decisions that influence organizational direction and performance.” It has been argued in hospitality literature that being involved in decision-making processes will generally enhance the commitment to practices that are the outcome of these processes (Wynne, 1993). Lashley (1996) refers to this as ‘empowering through participation’, giving employees some decision-making powers which before were held by management. The sense of empowerment in a corporate environment, does not only enhance the commitment of employees, it also allows management to better influence employees’ performance (Lashley, 1996), as it is argued that empowered employees feel more responsibility, or pride, for successfully completing set tasks.

In the hotels researched in the interview stage, the Green Team was an example of this ‘duality’ of empowerment. Fifteen hotels had a Green Team, which would generally consist of employees from different departments of the hotel. In one hotel (ID 19), the members of the Green Team were, furthermore, referred to as Green Champions, indicating their role as championing environmental practices in their department. This closely relates to Lashley’s (1996) ‘empowering through involvement’, which he describes as initiatives that are concerned with gaining from the expertise or experience of the staff. It is questionable, however, how ‘empowered’ these employees really were. The main tasks of most Green Teams were portrayed by the interviewees as coming up with new ideas and managing existing CSR practices. This meant that employees were allowed to offer ideas to management, and team members might have had an increased feeling of responsibility, but within the Green Team there was still a hierarchical structure which meant the actual power to implement practices remained with senior managers.

Another example of the limited power of employees was discussed by the Guest Service Manager (ID 9) of a five-star hotel. She discussed how management had decided to change their waste management company, because the previous contractor did not offer recycling services. The hotel management wanted to implement recycling in the hotel, but since the

housekeeping team had never separated waste before, the hotel management decided to contract a waste management company that would separate recycling from landfill waste for them. Due to the increased workload this would put on housekeeping staff, management decided to outsource the task. Instead of providing the housekeeping staff with the opportunity to make their own decision (which might for example have resulted in allowing housekeeping staff to take 1 minute per room longer to separate waste), the hotel management decided to make this decision for them.

To conclude, this section has provided an insight into the apparent disconnection between head office, senior management and junior staff members regarding the implementation of CSR practices. In what could be described as a light-green or weak sustainability approach (Duffy, 2002; Neumayer, 2003), information and targets are often simply passed down from head office to individual hotels, where senior management is left with the difficult task of enthusing and involving their junior staff members in an environment of high stress and low pay. Due to the variety of jobs in a hotel, CSR practices will affect employees in different ways. While some employees may be psychologically encumbered by these practices, for others the physical workload will increase. In the researched hotels, head office seemed to have little consideration for these changes to employees' jobs. The implementation of CSR practices can significantly impact workloads, and without the recognition of these changes, it will be difficult to involve and enthuse those that are most impacted by their implementation.

5.6 Explaining the limited implementation and publication of CSR commitments

While the previous section has discussed how junior staff members may not always have been positively inclined towards the implementation of CSR practices, I will now focus on hotel managers' views of guests' expectations and opinions of CSR practices. According to hotel managers, guest expectations similarly formed a barrier to implementing and publicising CSR commitments. I will start by discussing what, *according to the interviewed hotel managers*, guests expected when staying in their hotel and how these expectations of luxury and high service standards impacted CSR commitments. This will be followed by a discussion of how hotel operations (and especially the implementation of CSR practices) were adapted to the amount of money charged to visiting guests. Finally, hotel managers give their opinion about the importance of CSR practices for their visiting guests. In Chapter 6 I will discuss the *actual views as expressed by business travellers*.

5.6.1 Involving the guest in CSR practices

Interviewed hotel managers, and especially those from high-end hotels, were uneasy about involving and informing their guests about CSR practices. Eight managers noted that information about CSR commitments was not presented or distributed in the hotel, because of appearances and design. Especially managers from higher end hotels argued that hanging up plaques and providing flyers in the foyer or in bedrooms went against the design of the hotel. This thinking, however, went arguably further than simply the material design of the hotel, as the chief engineer of a five-star hotel in the Canary Wharf business district argued:

“I guess we do [it discretely] because again we don’t want to, sort of, irritate the guest, or hassle the guest with any sort of extra things, you know. It’s just part of the whole concept of being a business hotel, you don’t want to bother them.” (ID 3)

This quote depicts a business hotel as a place that should be without “hassle”, allowing travellers to stay without having to deal with any hotel requests or information about CSR practices. Guests have certain expectations when coming to a hotel, and according to the interviewed hotel managers these expectations do not include being asked to “*help save the environment*” (ID 13). Figure 5.8 provides an explanation of some of the CSR practices that were implemented in the researched hotels, and how these practices will impact the hotel stay.

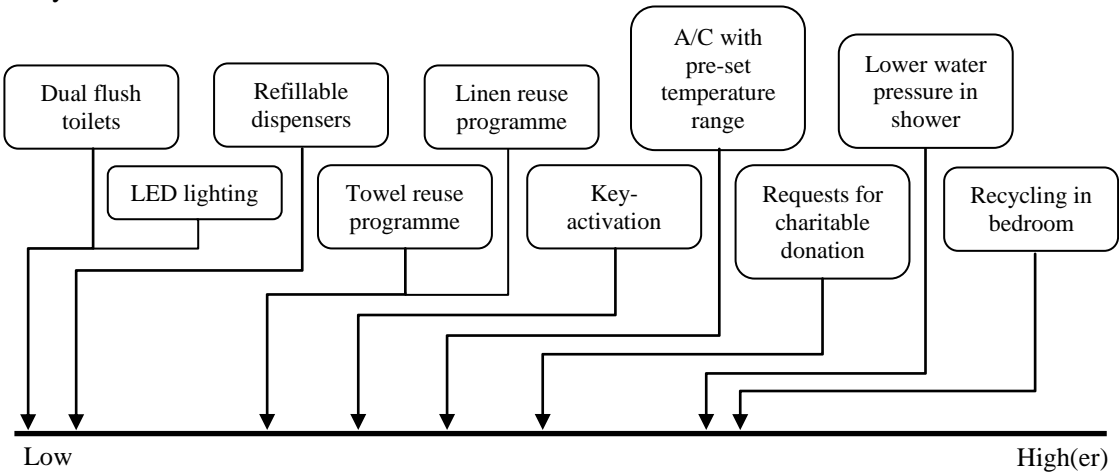


Figure 5.8: An example of the intrusiveness of CSR practices to hotel stays

The practices can be expected to have different levels of ‘intrusiveness’ on the guest experience of business travellers, and they will impact the hotel stay in differing measures. This is only an example of a number of measures and their ‘intrusiveness’. For example, I have assigned ‘lower water pressure in shower’ and ‘recycling’ with the highest impact,

because recycling requires a specific action from the hotel guest and a good shower is expected to be important to travellers and, hence, a lower water pressure will directly impact the guest's experience. If the hotel is situated in a hotter climate than London, however, the pre-set air conditioning temperature can become more of a 'hassle', and for guests who recycle at home the impact of this practice might not be perceived as high as is proposed. I show the Figure here, however, to explain how different CSR practices can be expected to have different levels of impact on business travellers' hotel stay and, hence, should be understood to 'bother' or 'hassle' the guest in different measures. The Figure does not only refer to the impact of CSR practices on guests' behaviour, but rather on the total *guest experience* and how this is impacted by these CSR practices. It is worth noting that even the 'highest hassle factors' in this example will be perceived by many as a low hassle, although I will explore the impact of hypermobility on business travellers' sense of hassle further in the next chapter. Here it is important to note that the problem for hotel managers is that different travellers will perceive the impact of CSR practices differently.

The large majority of interviewed hotel managers stated that business travellers were not considering their, and the hotel's, environmental impact, which meant that it was even more important to ensure that CSR practices did not 'hassle' the guests. This disregard of their environmental impact amongst guests is not necessarily because they do not care, but according to some hotel managers because guests are used to delegating such issues to the hotel³⁶. A human resources coordinator said the following regarding this:

"Generally people who are staying in hotels would like to know that something is being done about it, but it's the same as having the beds changed. I think when people want to go on holiday, or they're going to stay somewhere, they generally want to enjoy themselves, relax and not feel that's their responsibility, but that doesn't mean that they don't care. They are just glad that it's being done for them." (ID 21)

This quote shows the indecision within the hotel industry regarding the implementation of sustainability practices which involve guest participation, as well as the difficulty of managing guest expectations. According to this manager, guests "care" about their environmental impact, but might expect to delegate the execution of corresponding practices

³⁶ Interestingly, and in contrast to the hospitality industry, the airline industry actively tries to place the responsibility of becoming more environmentally friendly at the consumer (Gössling & Peeters, 2007).

when travelling. This is an issue that has been discussed by Barr et al. (2010: 475) in relation to holiday travel, with “individuals often argu[ing] that holidays were ‘different’ to everyday life in terms of their environmental commitments”. Barr and colleagues have not investigated the impact this ‘difference’ in behaviour has on tourism organisations like hotels, and further only focus on the decision-making of leisure travellers, but according to hotel managers, business travellers often show equal disregard of their environmental impact when visiting hotels. There seemed to be a consensus amongst hotel managers that leisure travellers were often looking for luxuries that helped them relax (bath/Jacuzzi, spa, gym, pool, hotel bar), and to experience something new or exciting, without being bound by hotel rules. Business travellers, they said, were looking for a second office³⁷ (and a local pub for a drink after working duties), where no time was wasted on hotel rules, but also where evening relaxation was possible. According to hotel managers, travellers’ companies on the other hand, did show a heightened interest in hotels’ CSR practices. However, according to the same managers, the travellers themselves did not follow this trend.

Hotel managers discussed how their environmental performances were becoming increasingly important to companies that would potentially send travellers to stay with them. Of the 21 hotel managers, 15 noted that they increasingly received questions about their sustainability commitments and achievements. The questions often came in the form of a request for proposal, which is a solicitation before the procurement of hotel rooms. The request can be understood as a questionnaire, which increasingly includes question(s) about the hotel’s CSR policies and practices. Many interviewed managers, however, questioned the impact this information had on the actual procurement decision, especially since it was often not more than a “*box ticking exercise*” (ID 13).

Only three managers felt the travellers they received in their hotels, from the companies that requested information about CSR practices, were more conscious and behaved more environmentally aware. Although acquiring information about the behaviour of individual guests is difficult for hotels and largely anecdotal due to the highly important rule of privacy in the hospitality industry, the general consensus of the hotel managers was that no changes in behaviour were apparent in travellers from different companies:

³⁷ As a side note, it could be argued that many offices and homes now have measures like recycling facilities in place, so it is questionable why hotel managers think business travellers would not want to recycle in the hotel. This question will be further discussed in the next chapter, when business travellers’ opinion of the issues discussed here is examined.

“people from certain companies [with a strong green policy], you know, they want a fresh towel every day the same as anyone else. [...] It’s a hotel you know, [they think] ‘I’ll have a fresh towel every day’, and use as much stuff as possible.” (ID 15)

This manager refers to the absence of a difference between travellers that work for so-called ‘green’ companies that will have questioned hotel management about their environmental performances, and the travellers that come from companies without these criteria. Unless the ‘green’ companies only request the information to promote this activity in their annual reports or on their website (which is not unlikely in many cases), the company would arguably like their employees to behave in accordance with the same environmental principles whether doing their job in or away from the office. As I will discuss in Chapter 8, however, outside the direct confinement of the office – where corporate control is strongest (Sayer & Walker, 1992) – employees’ freedom is higher as employers are less able to control their travelling employees, and in many cases employers will not even try to control their employees, because the luxuries in a hotel can function as compensation for the strains of travelling. Part of this compensation, and ‘indulgence’ in luxury, is to use *“as much stuff as possible”*, which was a behaviour reportedly seen by more hotel managers, especially those managing high-end hotels. They argued that guests expected certain standards of luxury and service, as well as a level of freedom to do as they saw fit, which prevented the hotel from more rigorous implementation of CSR practices³⁸. Another human resources manager stated:

“I think, often when people stay in hotels they aren’t as conscientious as they are when they are at home. I feel sometimes that people waste a lot, they shove more food on their plate than they would when they were at home, they will never be able to finish it. [...] That’s something I personally think, how people generally are; it’s part of staying in a hotel and having that feeling of luxury, and you can have as much as you want.” (ID 21)

³⁸ Although this was the common view amongst the interviewed hotel managers, note that there are other voices in the hospitality industry. My work with the Luxury Eco-Certification Standard (LECS), as explained in the previous chapter, shows that there are companies and organisations who strive to offer luxurious hotel stays while being environmentally sustainable.

And this ‘feeling of luxury’ does not only entail the overenthusiastic engagement with the hotel buffet. Here is an example from a director of engineering who had recently changed the water flow in all showers in the hotel from 30 litres to 15 litres per minute:

“30 litres per minute for water for a shower is ridiculous, 15 litres is still excessive, but again, it’s the 5-star market. We can go down to 9 litres minimum, 9 litres in a 3-star brand, but again, it’s brand perception. It’s 5-star perception, and if you’re going to pay that 100, 150, 200 pound extra a night, you want a shower that floods you.” (ID 6)

This hotel manager believed that the extent of expectations was not solely an effect of staying in a hotel, but strongly related to the amount of money paid for the stay. This was a recurring theme during interviews, with seven other managers, from both high and lower-end hotels, making similar observations.

5.6.2 The link between star-rating and guest expectations

The logic that expectations are linked to the price of a hotel room comes down to a centuries old understanding of the provision of hospitality in a commercial setting (see Chapter 3). In return for services, guests are willing to pay money (King, 1995), and it is likely that expectations are higher when the price for the hotel stay is higher (Darke & Gurney, 2000). Generally there is the consensus that more luxury is expected in a five-star hotel than in a budget hotel, because the money transfer will have been higher in the five-star hotel (ibid). Hotel management does not only base the water pressure in their showers (as shown in the quote above) on these differing expectations from guests. I will now slightly move outside the ‘green’ frame of this thesis, and illustrate how the involvement of guests in raising charitable donations also differs significantly between three hotels from different star-ratings. This will show that hotel management extensively considers the expectations of their guests while making decisions about such practices.

During the interviewing process consisting of 21 hotel managers, there were three hotels that were attempting to raise charitable donations amongst their guests. The three hotels were ranked as a budget hotel, a 3-star hotel and a 5-star hotel on the Visit Britain website (for more information on star-ratings and sampling, see Chapter 4). The difference in star-ratings meant that the clientele was likely to have different expectations (Darke & Gurney, 2000), but also that the decor and styling of the hotels were significantly different. In an effort to raise funds for the charity WaterAid, the management of the budget hotel (ID 20)

had placed a blue bucket (with a print-out exclaiming ‘SUPPORT WATERAID’) on their reception desk. All guests could make a donation in this bucket, but extra emphasis was placed on it when guests requested to leave their bags in storage after check-out. These guests were asked more formally – but still without obligation – to make a donation as a form of payment for storing their luggage. Informal expectations were for guests to donate some “*change*” (pocket money), providing the guest with the agency to decide on the exact amount.

In contrast, the 3-star hotel (ID 13) provided leaflets on the reception desk which explained to guests that the hotel automatically added £1 to the guest’s bill to support two charities (see Figure 5.9). The guest was given the option to opt-out, but the interviewed hotel manager argued that most guests were willing to participate. Because the charge was placed directly on the hotel bill, without an exchange of physical money, the amount raised could be expected to be higher than in the budget hotel. Especially when considering that £1 is a small amount in comparison to the price of a room in a 3-star Central London hotel (prices range from around £50 to £200 per night), and that according to the hotel manager 40 percent of their guests were business travellers who generally did not pay their own hotel bill, the majority of guests had no qualms about donating £1.



Figure 5.9: Leaflet from 3-star hotel about charity fundraising

In the 5-star hotel (ID 5), the book ‘Change the World 9 to 5’ (We Are What We Do, 2006) was presented to guests in every bedroom (see Figure 5.10). This book, which proposes 50 small changes to the reader’s behaviour in his or her working environment, provides an educational value which potentially reaches beyond the hotel stay and into guests’ lifestyles.

These changes range from being nice to colleagues and blowing the whistle on workplace bullies, to starting a carpool and taking stairs, to recycling waste, using fewer staples and consuming Fair Trade products. The book is mainly focused on raising awareness of little changes one can make which will impact his or her social and environmental impact in the workplace, but it also gives attention to some larger changes like ‘earning fewer air miles³⁹’ – an issue particularly relevant for business travellers and this thesis. Guests were allowed to read the book during their stay, and if they wanted to take it home £10 would be added to their room bill (or in the case of business travellers, who generally do not pay their own room bill, the £10 could be paid upon checkout). The book is on sale for £5 on the website of the publisher (wearewhatwedo.org, although this was not disclosed to the guests), but according to the interviewed hotel manager the surplus would be given to the charity Save the Children introduced on an information sheet in the book.

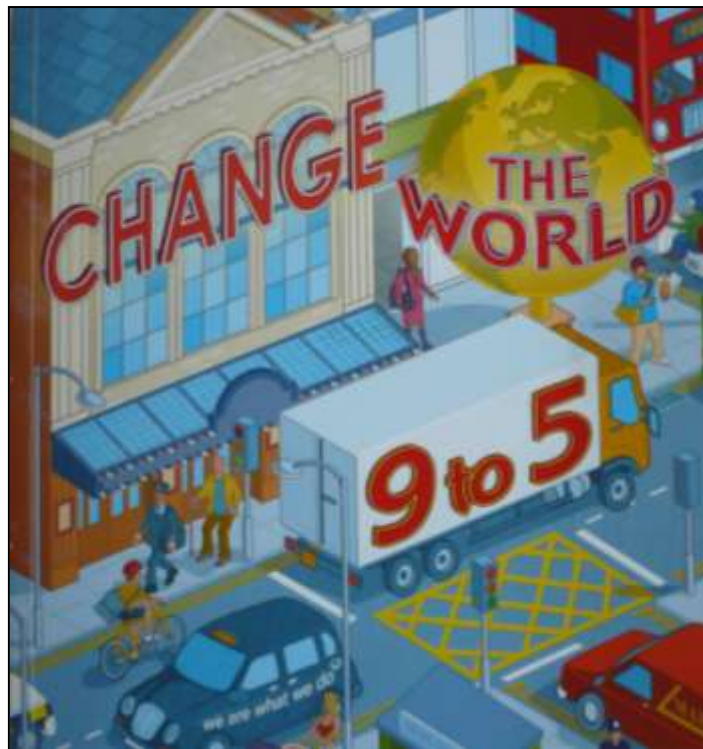


Figure 5.10: The book ‘Change the World 9 to 5’, offered in a hotel’s bedrooms

³⁹ The book discusses how to earn fewer air miles as follows: “Tough one, this. Cheap air travel is, let’s face it, a nice thing. So, asking you to cut back on it sounds like the killjoy equivalent to someone saying ‘cut back on music’ or ‘cut back on sex’. But, just a minute, look at the facts – air travel is the fastest growing contributor to climate change, spewing nearly ten times more CO² into the sky than an equivalent train journey. Or 100% more CO² than not travelling at all and opting for a video conference call once in a while. Come on – video conferencing isn’t that bad. That jerky movement and time delay on the sound makes everyone look like they’re in a 1970’s Thunderbirds episode. Enjoy it. **FYI:** Flying from London to Edinburgh produces 193kg of CO², eight times the 23.8kg produced by taking the train. Moreover, the pollution is released at an altitude where its effect on climate change is more than double that on the ground” (We Are What We Do, 2006).

This comparison of the approaches to requesting charitable donations provides a distinction in a number of ways between the hotels' efforts to involve guests in a CSR practice. Firstly, you would be hard pressed to find a blue bucket with an A4 printout sellotaped to it on a marble reception desk in a 5-star hotel, because this will generally be inconsistent with the hotel's design. Especially for high-end hotels, lobbies are designed to impress through their grandeur and stylization (McNeill & McNamara, 2010). The idea of placing a bucket, or even leaflets, on the reception desk can be expected to be rejected more often in these high-end hotels. Secondly, there is a difference in the amount of charity requested by the three hotels. The budget hotel asked for the guest's change in cash, while the 3-star hotel had a more official approach with £1 automatically being added to the room bill. With the 5-star hotel the investment was much higher at £10 (of which £5 was a charitable donation), but in return the guest could keep the book, which might not only provide the emotional gratification of helping a good cause, but also a gratification through the consumption of the book. Thirdly, the educational value differed significantly between the different approaches. The budget hotel provided no information about WaterAid's work or how the money would be spent. The 3-star hotel provided a brochure at the reception for guests to take, which explained the work of the supported charities and why these charities were supported. In the 5-star hotel, the book contained a letter explaining how the money would be spent by a pre-established charity. Also, the book itself has an educational value, raising awareness about personal climate change mitigation opportunities. This comparison highlights the different approaches taken by hotels to involve and educate their guests, with the star-rating of hotels seemingly an important determinant for these different approaches.

As was discussed above, hotel managers would generally consider the involvement of guests to minimize the 'hassle' or 'bother' to guests. The example about hotels approaches to raising charitable donations shows, however, that the concept of 'hassle' is perceived differently in differently rated hotels and is influenced by context. Being discrete in communicating with guests is more important in high-end hotels than in lower rated hotels, as the example of the 5-star hotel shows. The high-end hotel provided a book in the bedroom, which meant that nobody would directly ask the guest for money (as happened in the budget hotel), and guests could read the book without buying it, hence not incurring any automatic costs (as happened in the 3-star hotel). While in the 5-star hotel, then, requesting a donation face-to-face was perceived as impolite, the hotel manager employed in the budget hotel with the 'WaterAid bucket' explained why the face-to-face approach actually worked better for them:

“Four and five star properties are run on the basis of ‘speak to the guest when they speak to you’. It’s a silly thing, I don’t agree with it. Our way of working is [that] a guest should feel like they’re at home, so this should be their second home, and at their home they don’t walk around in silence, they get involved. By doing this, we feel we’re getting a greater response from the customer, and we have a better impact on actually achieving success. Whether it is WaterAid, or whether it is putting a sign in the room saying: ‘put the towels on the floor if you believe in saving the environment’.” (ID 20)

It is evident that the management of this budget hotel attempted to involve their guests more in their CSR practices than the high-end hotels. It can be concluded, then, that due to different expectations by guests (only being spoken to when requested, versus, interact like one would at home), hotels interacted differently with their guests.

5.6.3 The impact of guest expectations on the implementation of CSR practices

Hotel managers said they were largely dependent on guests’ demands and expectations in deciding which practices to implement in their hotels. According to them, expectations of luxury were mostly related to unsustainable ‘materialistic’ needs, for example clean towels and linens, extra food from the buffet or a powerful shower. Davies et al. (2012: 40) have researched consumers’ ethical attitudes towards luxury goods, with luxury goods defined as goods that “do not fill an elementary need”, enhance peer and self-perception, and are often tied in with brands which are valued for their uniqueness, quality and conspicuousness. Ethical issues with luxury goods, like the origin of diamonds, the environmental damage of gold mining, and the workforce discrimination and poor treatment by luxury designer brands, have come under increasing scrutiny (ibid). Davies et al. show, however, that ethical and sustainability issues are less important for consumers buying luxury goods, and the hotel managers made a similar argument in relation to luxury hotel stays. To nevertheless implement CSR practices, hotel managers argued that they were forced into implementing low-key, low-impact practices that do not impact their guests’ expectations, as the following general manager clarified:

“I think the trick is: if the guests don’t know it’s here and you’re doing it, then it’s a success. It’s when they notice it, then you know... and a lot is perception. You can change stuff, I mean simple things like in the kitchen; we get all our egg products supplied as liquid, guests don’t know that when they have a

scrambled egg, but it's more sustainable because it's pasteurised and it's less waste." (ID 18)

As this manager states, most (if not all) practices implemented in his hotel will only impact the guests experience in a very limited way. These low-impact practices have the added benefit of generally being cost-effective, with low implementation costs and rapid paybacks. Take the example of liquid eggs. These are pasteurised and therefore lead to less food waste, and are delivered in crates which are returned to the distributor, thus reducing packaging. However, at the same time these will not have a major impact on the environmental impact of the hotel, or the overall profit of the hotel. Linen reuse programmes save the housekeeping considerable time cleaning bedrooms, and together with the towel reuse programme it could save substantially on laundry costs. Hotel managers seemed well aware that the cost-savings they could make on CSR practices might impact the willingness of guests to partake in them. The environmental manager, who worked at a budget chain's head office, explained how his company tried to deal with this issue in the case of the towel reuse programme:

"We have things like 'if you like to use your towel again, please do this', but we don't specifically say that it's for us to save energy, because people will equate that to: 'you're trying to save money, you cheap bastards'. So it's very much a case of 'just do this'." (ID 12)

Instead of mentioning how participation in the towel reuse programme reduces the hotel's energy usage and, hence, the overall environmental impact, this environmental manager said that his employer decided not to make a mention of this, because there is an expectation or 'fear' that guests will equal 'saving energy' with 'saving costs', instead of with 'saving the environment'. Another three managers noted that hotel management had decided not to mention the environment when asking guests to reuse their towels or linens, because they did not think this would improve, or may even reduce, the uptake of the programme amongst guests. It should be mentioned, though, that all other managers – with the exception of two whose hotel had no reuse programmes in place – noted that cards in the bedrooms made mention of the environmental benefits of reusing linens and towels. It is clear, however, that mentioning the environmental benefit on a bathroom sign was not necessarily a straightforward decision, and it was not always perceived to increase the uptake of the programme. Indeed, a number of studies have similarly found that the text on bathroom signs has a direct impact on guests' uptake of the towel reuse programme

(Goldstein et al., 2008; Shang et al., 2010). Shang et al. (2010), for example, found that mentioning a charity which would receive a donation for every reused towel significantly increased participation amongst guests. This shows that costs or gains are not only an important factor in the implementation of CSR practices by hotels, but also in the involvement of guests in CSR practices. In particular, the guests' estimation, prediction or perception of the costs and gains to the hotel from CSR practices seems to influence hotel management's decision whether to involve guests in these practices.

Many practices implemented in the researched hotels were low-cost, like the towel and linen reuse programmes. Others were more cost-intensive, but had a short payback period and a clear cost benefit, like LED lighting. These practices have in common that hotel management can implement them without charging the guest extra. There are, however, practices that need a stronger financial commitment to be implemented and which are more expensive than conventional practices, with longer payback periods and a potential loss in profits. Examples could be combined heat and power installations (especially in older buildings), photovoltaic panels, or more radical forms of energy production like geothermal energy generation. These require a long-term investment and high expenses for implementation. Since hotels are commercial companies unwilling to adjust their profit margins, it can be expected that hotels will charge these to guests. According to hotel managers, however, guests are unwilling to pay extra for such practices, as the following quote illustrates:

“my feeling is that [...] people become more aware about sustainability. People like to see initiatives in sustainability, but they are not ready to pay for it. So it's something they are happy [about] if it's there, but I think they are not ready to pay for it. [...] And I think it's the same for companies, especially now times are a bit difficult. If you have the same hotel providing the same thing, but on top you have the sustainability it is maybe a trigger, and is part of the cocktail basically, but it's not what will make or break.” (ID 11)

The manager argues that people are not willing to pay more for CSR initiatives, which mirrors findings from research by for example Kang et al. (2012) in the United States, and by market research organisation Mintel (Donoghue, 2010) with European participants, who both found that respondents were not willing to pay extra for 'green' hotels. Where this manager contradicts another manager referred to earlier (ID 18) is in his arguing that guests “like to see initiatives”, while the other manager put effort into making sure guests did *not*

notice the implementation of CSR practices because they might be interpreted as cost-saving measures. Whether it is best to 'hide' CSR practices, or to show that initiatives are implemented was an area where managers disagreed. One thing all interviewed managers did agree on, though, was the importance, or rather unimportance, of CSR practices when potential guests would book a hotel, as the following quote reiterates:

"It wouldn't be any point to come into a sustainable hotel if it was filthy, noisy and had no service. [...] I think that there won't be any point coming to a hotel if you couldn't afford it, so first of all you're going to have to be able to afford to go, then it's going to have to be nearby where you want to be. Then it's going to have to be good service, [and] then it is going to have to be a place where you can actually sleep, so it's going to have to be restful. I think then you can start looking at some other things like sustainability or facilities." (ID 5)

This quote shows how the hotel manager believed his and other hotels were selected by potential guests. He pointed out that sustainability or CSR practices only seem to be important beyond a certain threshold. Price, location, cleanliness, service standards and a restful environment are mentioned as non-negotiable factors which need to be satisfied before guests will consider hotels' CSR commitments. The fact that travellers will not sacrifice location and service quality for CSR practices is perhaps not surprising. Devinney, Auger and Eckhardt (2010) undertook several studies based on buying decisions of more tangible products like athletic shoes and AA batteries, and found that ethical issues were always seen as secondary reasons for buying a certain product, behind the primary reason of functionality. Indeed, all hotel managers agreed that CSR practices were low on the priority list of booking business travellers. Hotel managers were asked what they believed were the most important selection criteria for business travellers when booking a room at their hotel, followed by a list of seven criteria⁴⁰ they were asked to rank in importance. 'Location' was found to be most important, closely followed by the 'quality of service'. 'Facilities' and 'value for money' were perceived less important, but still more important than 'loyalty schemes' and, finally, 'CSR practices' as the least important factor. In the interview with the manager quoted above (ID 5), he further said that hotels would have the opportunity to differentiate the product they offer to their guests by implementing CSR practices, but this might only have an impact on the booking behaviour of individuals as long as the 'non-

⁴⁰ The criteria were as follows: Facilities (meeting rooms, gym, pool etc.); Location; Loyalty scheme; Quality of service (cleanliness of room, helpfulness of staff etc.); Restful environment (silence, security and safety); Sustainability/CSR practices; Value for money

negotiable' factors have been satisfied. Guests' expectations of service standards, then, are expected by hotel managers to trump the importance of a hotel's CSR performance, but at least some managers believed that CSR had an added value, however small this value might be to booking guests.

5.7 Conclusions

In this chapter I have taken the first step to discussing how hotels communicate/do not communicate information about their CSR practices using different media. While there have been exploratory studies into CSR information provided by hotel companies, to my knowledge none of these studies have gone beyond information that is publicly available online, or have considered why hotels communicate their CSR commitments as they do. Going beyond the analysis of published information and drawing on interviews with hotel managers, this chapter has provided an understanding of the reasons for hotel management to publicise its CSR policies and practices to a certain level.

An analysis of CSR information published on hotel websites, information on environmental certifications, and information displayed inside researched hotels showed that there are major discrepancies between the CSR practices implemented in hotels and the certifications obtained on the one hand, and the communication of these implementations and achievements on the other. To research CSR information on hotel websites, all hotel and parent company websites of the London hotel sample were analysed. It was concluded that on average 9 percent of hotel websites provided information on CSR policies and practices, while this figure was 84 percent for parent company websites. With hotel websites seemingly focused on informing potential guests, and parent company websites on informing other stakeholders, it was argued that the CSR information would most often not reach guests using the internet to book a hotel room.

It was argued that third party certification schemes could have the potential to enhance the visibility of hotels' CSR practices. Using four of the most prominent environmental certification schemes in the hospitality and restaurant industry, it was concluded that most hotels did not communicate that they had achieved these certifications. The relatively large number of certified hotels, however, could be taken as an indication that hotels have implemented more CSR practices than is communicated on their websites. This was further mirrored in interviews with London hotel managers, which showed a significant number of actual policies and practices implemented in the managers' hotels. As with the websites, the

hotels generally made only limited attempts to communicate their CSR commitments to guests.

Considering these findings, it was first discussed whether information provision was similarly limited to hotel employees, and how hotel staff were involved in the implementation of CSR practices. In the researched hotels, head office seemed to have little consideration for the physical and psychological changes to employees' jobs that resulted from the implementation of CSR practices. Junior employees had arguably little 'true' power to change their working conditions and, hence, the addition of CSR practices was, according to the interviewees, often met with a negative attitude by junior staff members. It was argued that without the recognition by head office that CSR practices can significantly impact employees' workload, involving and enthusing junior staff members will be difficult. Indeed, it might be argued that paying below the living wage while demanding more commitment or compliancy from staff to CSR practices is in itself contradictory and unethical. While head offices seemed to communicate their policies extensively to individual hotel managers and staff, there is a need for a more embedded commitment to involve junior staff members. CSR practices need to become a core practice of hotel operations, and should not be seen as an 'add on' by head office.

After the discussion of hotel staff, reasons for the limited information to the guests were discussed. Although hotels implemented more CSR practices than they publicised, it was noted that the environmental impact of these practices were often low, and many practices were profitable for the hotel. Hotel managers generally argued, however, that the limited implementations were due to guest expectations. Their reasoning was twofold. Firstly, hotel managers argued that high service expectations by guests, like the option of excessive consumption of food or water, were inhibiting change. Secondly, hotel managers believed there was unwillingness amongst guests to pay extra for CSR practices, which caused them to be unable to implement high-impact CSR practices, such as combined heat and power installations or solar panels, in their hotels. It was mentioned by some managers how CSR practices were only important beyond a certain threshold, with factors like location, price and service standards more important than CSR practices. For these reasons, hotel management tended to ensure that their guests' experiences were not, or minimally, impacted when implementing CSR practices.

This chapter has focused on information provided by hotel companies on their websites, and data collected through interviews with hotel managers. While the next chapter will discuss

some of the above findings from the perspective of business travellers, it can be concluded here that hotel managers are generally taking a 'weak sustainability' approach to implementing CSR practices, often for direct cost savings. There is only limited communication with hotel guests about the implemented practices, and hotel managers seem to shift the responsibility for 'greening' hotel stays to their guests. In discussions of the low-impact CSR practices predominantly implemented in hotels, hotel managers appear to 'blame' other actors like hotel staff and their guests for this status quo. It would be unfair, however, to argue that no genuine attempts from hotels to implement CSR practices, and to be a responsible company, were found. As I have discussed in relation to the involvement of hotel staff, there were cases where hotels genuinely tried to involve their employees, but the different approaches had different success rates, and some hotels were investing in more significant changes, albeit generally behind the scenes. It can be argued, then, that the commitment towards 'greening' their hotels is generally determined by the 'convenience' of making changes. Hotel managers seem willing to make changes when they are low-impact and low-cost, but not when they will impact the core services they offer or when it is not certain the implementation will be profitable.

6

UNDERSTANDING BUSINESS TRAVELLERS' TRANSIENT LIFESTYLES

In the previous chapter, guests have largely been described by hotel managers as a homogenous group of not very conscientious, unsustainable travellers. I have discussed how the 22 interviewed hotel managers argued that their guests' expectations, which include business travellers' expectations, hinder the implementation of CSR practices. In this chapter I will turn to business travellers themselves, and the attitudes 34 travelling interviewees expressed to me towards the environmental impact of their lifestyles. Before that, and to understand the opportunities for the greening of business travellers' practices, it is necessary to gain an understanding of the business travelling lifestyle. As I will show, being a regular traveller can have a significant impact on one's social life and physical and psychological state, and an understanding of travellers' mindsets is important for the remainder of this thesis. The first part of this chapter, then, can be viewed as 'setting the scene' for the remaining discussions in this, and further chapters.

The main argument I present in this chapter is that the intensity of travelling impacts travellers' attitudes towards travelling, and subsequently influences the *in situ* uptake of environment-related practices (ERP). I will argue that the strain of travelling influences how travellers are considering and reflecting on their practices, and the impact of their practices on the environment. I will do this by firstly considering the interviewed travellers' attitudes towards travelling and staying in hotels. By doing this I will reiterate and support findings from a number of other studies into business travellers' experiences of travelling (e.g. Faulconbridge et al., 2009; Gustafson, 2006; Lassen, 2006), but I will take the analysis of travellers' attitudes further by linking them to the uptake of ERP at the travel destination. Using the experiences from 34 experienced business travellers, I will argue that travellers have a limited consideration of their environmental impact when travelling. By comparing travellers' ERP at home and when away, it will be established how practices changed when travellers were in unfamiliar 'away' environments.

6.1 Exploring the travelling lifestyle

Attitudes towards travelling for work differed considerably amongst travellers. A range of aspects influenced these attitudes, with the nature of, or reason for, travelling and the

frequency of travel heavily impacting travellers' attitudes. Although business travellers are often referred to as a homogenous group of travellers (I can also be accused of having done this so far), there are many reasons for individuals to travel for work, and it seems that these differing reasons impacted the travel experience of the interviewed business travellers. I interviewed consultants who for periods of up to a few years travelled every week to the same location because they were working with a client there, only to be home during the weekend. A German consultant, for example, had for the past year travelled every Sunday evening to London, returning home on Thursday evening. These consultants effectively had to travel long distances to get to their offices and, hence, stayed in a hotel during the working week. This is in stark contrast with some other travellers, as the following quote illustrates:

"You can't get away from the fact that even though you're travelling, you're still expected to do a certain amount of work. So that's the shit-part basically, and I think the word shit pretty much qualifies. When you travel, you come home to your hotel, and you want to relax for a bit, but you can't. You still have to answer emails, so it's not particularly great." (ID 25)

This traveller travelled to meet clients or colleagues at international offices – referred to as intrafirm travel (Faulconbridge et al., 2009) – during the day, but then had to continue working in the evening to catch up on the tasks that he would normally do when in the office. For travellers that undertook this type of travel, trips were generally shorter and less frequent, but would often also conflict with their day-to-day jobs back home. This meant that consultants seemed to have spare time in the evening, while other travellers would often work both during the day time and at night – tasks relating to the reason for travelling during the day, and other day-to-day tasks (like checking emails, video-meetings with superiors, etc.) at night. Finally, there was a group of travellers that undertook trips to varying destinations, because travelling was part of their day-to-day job. Amongst these travellers was a sales representative for a paper manufacturer who said he travelled 40 weeks a year selling his employer's goods, and a motivational speaker and course leader who visited companies around the world to convene internal training sessions. These travellers generally had considerable spare time in the evening like consultants, but did not visit the same location on a regular basis. Due to these differences, most consultants described how travelling was *"boring and mundane"* (ID 32), while other travellers often argued it was *"stressful"* (ID 25, 29, 32, 35) and *"tiring"* (ID 24, 26, 28, 29, 50, 53).

Frequency of travel was another aspect that was found to impact travellers' attitudes towards travelling. Some interviewees travelled irregularly (say once every two months or less) and were generally positive about their travelling experiences. As one traveller put it more aptly, she was "*not sick of it yet*" (ID 24). In contrast, I interviewed travellers who said they were away from home for around 200 nights per year. Some of these travellers were consultants spending more than 40 weeks in the same location, but there was also one traveller who had over 100 short (up to two nights) trips per year. It were these – arguably more experienced and hardened – travellers who often had a negative opinion of their travel commitments, as the following quote illustrates:

"You can have different meetings in different locations, so you are city hopping, and that is very extreme. Then you can fly in somewhere in the morning, have a meeting in the afternoon, and fly to the next location during the evening. I don't really like it; it's very tiring and extreme. Normally I set myself a goal of seeing at least one attraction, landmark or museum when at a new location. That is often impossible when city hopping." (ID 29)

The high amount of travel in a short period can be referred to as 'hypermobility' (Becken, 2007). Becken (2007) discusses hypermobility as a growing phenomenon amongst *leisure* travellers (more and shorter trips throughout the year), and something that is strived for by many. Business travellers, however, were more negatively disposed towards the extremity of the experience, possibly because for business travellers hypermobility constitutes an even higher frequency and shorter stays than the leisure travel equivalent. Furthermore, as above traveller (ID 29) stated, leisure trips could predominantly exist of visiting "attraction[s], landmark[s] or museum[s]" while business travellers will arguably spend most of their time in airplanes and hotels, a phenomenon referred to by Lassen (2006) as 'a life in corridors'⁴¹. The following quote illustrates this 'life' and how it influences the interviewee's travel experience:

"When I first started I was really excited, because I was 'ooh I get to see the world, travel all over the place', but you learn pretty quickly that the insides of cabs, hotels, airplanes, airports and boardrooms all look the same no matter

⁴¹ The distinction between these two kinds of trips – for business and for leisure – as presented by the travellers, supports my argument in Chapter 1 that the term 'business tourism' could be regarded as misleading. Amongst the interviewees, tourism was generally associated with leisure and fun, while business travel was associated with work and stress.

where you are in the world. So it starts off as this exciting curiosity, but now to me it's like a massive inconvenience, and usually [I'm] tired and [have a] jetlag.” (ID 48)

As the interviewee argued, business travellers generally spend most of their time in airplanes, airports, offices and/or hotels. These spaces are characterised by the large amount of people moving through them, without ‘living’ in the space, and are otherwise referred to as non-places (Lassen, 2009; Sheller & Urry, 2006; Urry, 2007, 2009). Lassen (2009) illustrates the idea of non-places by referring to travellers waking up in a hotel room and having to take some time to think where in the world they are, because all hotel rooms look similar. Hotels have otherwise been referred to as liminal, or in-between, places (Pritchard & Morgan, 2006). This means that hotels are seen as “outside the ordinary of most people’s everyday social life, distinct from our normal place of home, which we leave behind when we travel” (Pritchard & Morgan, 2006: 764). Preston-Whyte (2004: 250) refers to liminal places as “intangible, elusive, and obscure” lying in a ‘limbo-like’ space. Cultural differences in liminal or non-places are erased because of the ‘cocooned passage’ through these spaces (McNeill, 2008). Hence, international work trips are characterised by “movement between locations, consisting of airports, office buildings, and hotels, (...) giving the trips a monotonous character” (Lassen, 2006: 307), which seemingly negatively influenced the traveller’s attitude towards travelling.

It is the high-intensity travellers that spend a lot of time in ‘corridors’ who often try to reduce their travels (Millar & Salt, 2008). Similarly to Lassen’s (2006) findings, however, it were these same travellers who argued strongest in favour of travel, as the following quote shows:

“... it is certainly not as glamorous as one might think. [...] [It’s] shit, stressful and work-intensive. But that’s the negative side; uhh, it is very tough. [...] [But] spending one hour with someone is as good as a hundred phone calls. So if you meet them face-to-face it’s a much more personal way of doing things. You can do video-conferencing, so you see each other on a screen, but really it’s not until you’re actually there that you realise what the circumstances are. So travelling for business definitely has the benefit that it unifies people, it creates relationships.” (ID 25)

The importance of face-to-face meetings has been highlighted before by scholars like Jones (2007), Faulconbridge et al. (2009) and Gustafson (2012), and this traveller seemed to reason that the benefits of face-to-face meetings are more important than the strains. The interviewee turned an emotional and negative outlook on travel into a professional stance towards travelling. Instead of thinking about the personal strains incurred through travel, the interviewee focused on the benefits travelling has for his job. Another interviewee, a financial consultant (ID 33), called travelling a “*necessary evil*”. By using these words he in effect was rationalising the negative aspects of travel – the ‘evil’ – by arguing (maybe mostly to himself) that his travels are ‘necessary’ to do his job (more on this ‘professional’ reasoning in Chapters 7 and 8). All interviewed travellers noted how important travel was for their job, and most noted they could not travel less than they currently did if the same level of work was required. Despite mostly having a negative outlook on travelling, all travellers were prepared to live the transient lifestyle that was part of it. The reasons for this negative outlook, but also some positive attributes of travelling, will be discussed in the next section.

6.2 A discussion of attitudes to travelling

As the above quotes have already made unprompted mention of, one of the main negative attributes of regular business travel is the stressfulness. Twelve travellers of the total sample of 34 interviewees mentioned that travelling is a tiring or stressful experience, illustrated by the following quote:

“The reason that I stopped liking [my previous job] was the amount of travel. [...] You can’t get into any life routine, and it starts to take a toll on health as well, because you can’t keep up on sports hobbies. So I couldn’t go mountain biking for all that time because I was travelling so much. And you’re eating out every day, so you go to restaurants and [are] just getting fat basically.” (ID 35)

The interviewee said that by being away it is harder to keep to a healthy diet and to find the time to exercise, which results in a strain on his physical health. Four other travellers similarly made the explicit link between travelling and their health. As Ivancevic et al. (2003) argue, travelling for work can be a stressful activity due to travel delays, heavy workloads, the feeling of loneliness and concerns about personal security. Living highly mobile lives can be detrimental to an individual’s well-being, with the possibility of suffering depression, anxiety and emotional disconnection (Elliott & Urry, 2010). Stresses

are apparent before and after the travels, and the impact of travelling is not solely on the traveller. Preparing for a trip, and dealing with feelings of guilt after return, can be equally stressful, especially when leaving a family (Ivancevic et al., 2003). Except for one traveller whose kids were grown up, all 17 travellers with children noted that they were conscious about the impact their travelling had on their family life, and that they were trying to reduce this impact. Following is a quote from a traveller who made travelling decisions based on his home life:

“Because I have a young family it isn’t easy for me to travel to conferences in Australia or North America. Not impossible, but my wife is heavily pregnant, [and] I don’t want to be on the other side of the world when something happens.” (ID 31)

This traveller is adopting what Lassen (2009) calls the ‘family strategy’, meaning that for certain trips he might give his family a higher priority than travelling. It can be argued that family would have been less of a consideration in the past. Traditional societal expectations of work division between men and women, with men in business and women in the household, are changing (Harris & Ateljevic, 2003). In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, travellers were mostly men, portrayed as ‘explorers’ and ‘adventurers’ (Harris & Wilson, 2007). Stearns (1990) argued that many early businessmen had some experience in wars spanning from the 1770s to 1815 – especially British and Americans – and saw themselves as warriors. Wars were substituted by business, which had all the male virtues (business travel as an adventure), but none of the bloodshed (Hooper, 2001). With a growing number of women travelling for business (Harris & Ateljevic, 2003; Harris & Wilson, 2007), however, Gustafson (2006) found that present-day business travel for many families is a source of conflicts between obligations to work and obligations to the family. While men travel considerably more than women, regardless of their family situation (Gustafson, 2006), most interviewed male travellers were concerned about leaving their family frequently.

Although positive attitudes towards business travel were scarce in comparison to negative attitudes, some interviewees did mention some aspects that made travelling more bearable or enjoyable. Five travellers made mention of their attempts to have a holiday after a business trip. This is a cheaper alternative to buying separate flights and, in contrast to a ‘cocooned passage’ through spaces (McNeill, 2008), being a leisure traveller brings the benefit of free time and the freedom to explore places. This is often impossible with the high

workload when travelling for work. With such a high workload, however, the following traveller argued that being on an airplane could be beneficial:

“Two hours on a plane is a big luxury, because it is two hours where you can actually have undisturbed time to do your email. [...] No internet, no phone, no new emails, so literally you can focus for two hours, so that’s not entirely a bad thing.” (ID 25)

This relates to Solomon’s (2009) argument that many individuals enjoy their daily commute between home and work. She bases her discussion on work by De Grazia (1962), who argued that to his New York respondents the commute was a relaxing activity. Although De Grazia wrote his work 50 years ago, and travelling business class is naturally a different experience than sitting on a crowded commuter train in New York, findings from my research show that his work could still be relevant, as above quote illustrates how spending two hours in a secluded space, like an airplane, can be used to catch up on work – using the airplane as an office – and beneficial to travellers’ attitude to travelling. While Solomon’s (2009) discussion solely focuses on work commutes, the discussion can be extended to business travel, and as the following quote shows, not just to the travelling aspect of business travel:

“Given that we just had a second child, [...] you would want to spend an amount of time at home. Having said that, the situation at home is also really, really busy, so to be honest, sometimes the overnight stay at the hotel could be a way to catch up on work, catch up on sleep.” (ID 30)

To this interviewee with a young family, travelling is beneficial as his time apart from the family means that he has fewer distractions and can catch up on sleep. As Solomon (2009: 166) discussed in relation to commuting: “it is the time for unwinding before facing the family”. While being away from family is a reason for some travellers to consider changing jobs, above traveller turned his periods of absence into a positive aspect of travelling. These differing attitudes towards travelling show that business travellers are a heterogeneous group of individuals, with different experiences and differing attitudes towards these experiences. The frequency and length of travel, the family situation, the locations visited and the workload are important, but just a few, factors influencing travellers’ attitudes. With some caution, however, it could be argued that travellers were more inclined to point out the negative aspects of travel over the positive aspects. In research referred to in the above

sections, the analysis often stops with this notion; however, this chapter aims to take the discussion further and investigate the effect of the strains of travelling on the uptake of ERP at the travel destination. With travellers predominantly staying in hotels while on location, the attitudes towards hotel stays will first be discussed.

6.3 The importance of the ‘fixed’ hotel in a transient lifestyle

6.3.1 Attitudes to staying in hotels

The hotel is by far the most used form of accommodation by business travellers. For example, of all visiting international business travellers to the UK in 2009, 75 percent stayed in a hotel or guest house (ONS, 2011). Indeed, all interviewed travellers had considerable experience of staying in hotels, but most travellers were less negative about hotel stays than of the total travel experience. Answers like “*most places are adequate*” (ID 30), “*at the end of the day, it’s a bed*” (ID 35) and “*it’s normally fine*” (ID 48) provide an indication of a frequent attitude of the interviewees towards hotel stays. Before discussing the reasons and meaning of these, mainly sanguine attitudes, it is important to point out that there were some travellers with stronger attitudes towards hotel stays. One of the travellers most outspoken about negative aspects of staying in hotels said the following:

“The places that I go to aren’t that glamorous, so the hotels aren’t that nice, so it’s a little bit dirty right, hotels are dirty usually, so you don’t feel like you’re at home. [...] I think it’s dirty, even if it’s a nice hotel it’s dirty. [...] The other thing is, for me because I’m a girl, staying at a hotel by yourself is a little bit scary too. You go up into an elevator and go up to your room and you’re always looking over your shoulder to make sure nobody is there.” (ID 24)

This female traveller, who was in her early 30s, mentioned a range of aspects that negatively influenced her attitude to staying in hotels. Firstly, she noted how hotels are “dirty” places, which seems to relate to the transient nature of hotel visits. In a profitable hotel, large numbers of individuals will inhabit the same hotel room in a short period of time. This might lead to concerns about hygiene and cleanliness; as another female traveller stated: “*everybody is sitting on [the sofa], so you’re not really comfortable with it; I always put something to sit on*” (ID 53). At home, individuals have control over, and knowledge of, activities taking place in different spaces. When in a hotel, the knowledge that your temporary ‘home-space’ was probably used as a ‘home-space’ by somebody else the night

before, with this other person's activities in the 'home-space' being an unknown factor, can lead travellers to feel a degree of unease when inhabiting the hotel room. While many hotels spend considerable amounts of money on the hotel's design and aesthetics, in an effort to transform the hotel into a home – referred to as home-making (McNeill, 2008) – the transient nature of hotel visits can arguably stop travellers from 'feeling at home'.

A second negative aspect of hotels, and arguably of individual travel, is the issue of safety and security as pointed out by the female traveller (ID 24). Other research has similarly shown how safety and security of the hotel are an important satisfaction factor, especially for female travellers (e.g. Cobanoglu, Corbaci, Moreo, & Ekinici, 2003; Lutz & Ryan, 1993; McCleary, Weaver, & Lan, 1994; Sammons, Moreo, Benson, & DeMicco, 1999; Tunstall, 1989). The traveller referred to above was the only interviewee reporting a clear concern about her safety when travelling, although other, especially female, travellers noted that travelling alone was a negative aspect of business travel (which could entail loneliness, but also safety).

A final negative aspect the female traveller (ID 24) mentioned, is the overall quality of the hotels she has to stay in. As she stated, the hotels she stays in are not "nice" or "glamorous". This is in stark contrast to another traveller, who always stays in 5-star hotels, and argued the following:

"Bear in mind that when we travel we stay in 5-star properties, so there's a lot of luxury involved and in that way it's a little bit like an addiction, you know, you need a fix every month or so, otherwise you know what you're missing." (ID 27)

This traveller argued that the high standards of luxury in hotels have become part of an addiction that makes travelling enjoyable, although he noted later in the interview that *"travel[ling] every month can be quite wearing, physically but also just emotionally"* (ID 27). For the interviewee it seems that the process of travelling is a negative experience, but one that is improved by the quality of the hotels he stays in. With the exception of this traveller, and as stated at the beginning of this section, other travellers did not exhibit the same 'addiction' to hotels. There was a general consensus amongst travellers that the hotels they were sent to were up to the standards they expected, but none of the other travellers reported looking forward to travelling because of the hotels they stayed at (this should not

be understood as travellers not looking forward to their hotel once travelling; many interviewees reported to look forward to their hotel after a long flight).

Instead of discussing their attitudes towards staying in a hotel, most travellers would discuss the importance of certain amenities or services, often along the lines of “*as long as it has got an internet socket*” (ID 26, also mentioned by ID 29). Other important amenities and services were ‘a comfortable bed’ (ID 34, 35, 36, 47), ‘proper breakfast’ (ID 36), ‘priority check-in’ (ID 25) or ‘a clean room’ (ID 26, 47). These rather ‘unbothered’ answers could be understood as a low importance assigned to the hotel quality or the hotel experience, but I would argue that they should instead be understood as indicating that a hotel stay which conforms to travellers’ expectations is important to travellers. Travellers expect their hotel stay, like other aspects of their trip such as their flight, to be hassle-free. The hotel should offer a service which simplifies their lives and allows them to focus on their job. To capture this expectation from travellers, I introduce the terms ‘friction’ and ‘frictionless’ in this thesis.

Anything that requires travellers’ time or attention, and which therefore takes away from the time they can spend on business requirements, is adding ‘friction’ to their trip. I therefore define ‘friction’ as everything that requires extra time, extra attention, extra thought, extra reading, or extra words beyond the minimum needed to perform the job effectively, which business travellers may want to avoid due to their stressful and pressured lifestyle. Thus, most travellers will want to experience a ‘frictionless’ hotel stay, as well as a ‘frictionless’ flight and ‘frictionless’ transportation to and from the hotel. Although the terms ‘friction’ and ‘frictionless’ are, to my knowledge, new to the discussion of travelling and pro-environmental practices, as I showed in the previous chapter, lack of time or information have received extensive attention from researchers attempting to understand why individuals neglect buying Fair Trade or ethical products (e.g. Kleine et al., 2012; Moraes et al., 2011), and the term ‘friction’ can be understood in a related way. Any hotel practices or other structures which go against travellers’ expectations of a hassle-free stay, can be understood as adding ‘friction’, and travellers can therefore be expected to avoid such practices. One way for travellers to achieve a ‘frictionless’ hotel stay is by choosing a hotel (chain) they are familiar with, so that they know what to expect in advance, and can rely on existing data about them on the hotel database, and on their own routinized behaviour in a standardised environment they recognise.

6.3.2 The predictability of hotel stays

Major hotel chains (especially hotels which are part of the 10 largest global chains, as discussed in the previous chapter) generally have a building and service standard that will give all their hotels similarities in exterior and interior design, hotel amenities and services, ambiance and staff etiquette. Furthermore, with star-rating schemes, standards are guaranteed to be similar across hotels with the same rating. As a result, hotel rooms from Hilton, Marriott or Intercontinental are very similar, both within the brand and across brands, except for some design features. Hence, it is the ‘special touches’, the seemingly insignificant aspects of service, that make the difference for many travellers, as the following quote illustrates:

“They remember what kinds of pillows you like – that was the thing with Marriott for me – I always ask for extra pillows, it’s like a nice little extra thing. It feels like a higher quality of service, because they remember; they don’t remember, they have no idea who I am, but their computer has something like a little chart somewhere that says ‘put an extra pillow on his bed’, and that is kind of cool. So you know, I like the upgrade stuff. [...] These are the little extra things that do become important.” (ID 35)

As this quote shows, receiving an extra pillow without having to request it every time, is for this traveller an important issue when choosing a hotel. As most of the interviewed travellers stayed in 4 or 5-star hotels, a comfortable bed or luxurious bathroom were *expected* and generally a given, while an extra pillow, priority check-in or a panoramic view from the window were *desired*. An extra pillow delivered unprompted might seem an insignificant service for infrequent travellers, but for regular travellers it is these ‘special touches’ that can make a loyal customer, because it means that the hotel stay constitutes less ‘hassle’ and ‘friction’. Indeed, most of the regular travellers were very loyal customers to ‘their’ hotel brand. The following quote gives some insight into the reasons for loyalty:

“I always pretty much stuck with Marriott, I like their formula. [...] You know what you’re getting, and when you’re working you don’t have to worry about that sort of thing. One of my colleagues said to me once when we were in New York [that] he was sick of the [chains], so he was going to a boutique hotel. He booked it and it was shit; I said ‘it serves you right’, you know, at least if you book somewhere that [is a chain], you have consistency.” (ID 33)

This traveller attempted to stay in Marriott hotels whenever he travelled for work, because he knew what to expect. This notion of loyalty and need for certainty and predictability is interesting when considering the negative attitude many travellers had towards the mundane and homogeneous character of business travel. Surely, one would not expect the same travellers that complain about the mundane nature of travelling, to be trying to increase the predictability of the trip by always choosing the same hotel. In fact, this is exactly what the interview data shows. Instead of switching brands or “*going to a boutique hotel*”, knowing what can be expected was more important to regular travellers. When travelling to another country or continent, which they had not visited before, these travellers still decided to stay in one of the large ‘Western’ hotel chains, because they knew what to expect. The similarities between hotel rooms from the same brand are shown in Figure 6.1, which shows a number of Marriott hotel rooms from around the world. Although there are differences in design, based on the location’s culture and climate, the rooms’ set-up and amenities are very similar. All rooms have a double bed, desk, lounge chair(s) and flat screen television. The pursuit of a predictable hotel stay is part of what Ritzer (2004) refers to as the ‘McDonaldization’ of society, with predictability and standardization important aspects of the contemporary Western consumption culture. Brand loyalty provides upgrades and extras, but it also reduces stress and ensures travellers can focus on the job, both before the trip and after arrival.

6.3.3 *Social interactions in hotels*

Hotels, then, play an important role in ‘fixing’ mobile bodies (McNeill, 2008). To use Lassen’s (2006) terminology, hotels are part of the ‘monotonous corridors’ travellers spend most of their time in. The monotonous character of hotel spaces can lead travellers to argue that their hotel stays are “*boring and mundane*”, but it also results in a predictability which is often desired by travellers. This desire is particularly evident when considering the brand loyalty of regular travellers. Some interviewed travellers, predominantly consultants regularly visiting the same hotel, further highly rated social relationships and interactions with hotel staff. Although commercial hospitality is argued by some to be ‘fake’ (Brotherton & Wood, 2000; Lashley, 2000; Lockwood & Jones, 2000; Ritzer, 2007) and, hence, relationships made with staff or owners of these commercial hospitality establishments equally fake, for some regular and hypermobile travellers these ‘fake’ relationships with hotel staff were important. While the knowledge that hotel staff get paid to be friendly and courteous to guests left many travellers unwilling to partake in ‘fake’ relationships with hotel staff, for some these relationships with hotel staff were more important. Remember how the traveller stated in the quote above that he liked Marriott’s “formula”. When asked



Figure 6.1: Hotel rooms of eight different Marriott hotels⁴²

⁴² 1: London Marriott Hotel Marble Arch, UK; 2: New York Marriott Marquis, USA; 3: Hong Kong Skycity Marriott Hotel, China; 4: Doha Marriott Hotel, Qatar; 5: Morning Star Marriott Beach Resort, Virgin Islands (USA); 6: Sao Paulo Airport Marriott Hotel, Brazil; 7: Brisbane Marriott Hotel, Australia; 8: Paris Marriott Rive Gauche Hotel, France. All pictures were taken from www.marriott.com (15/07/2013).

what he perceived as Marriott's formula, he referred to the friendliness of the staff. Another traveller, a consultant always visiting the same London hotel, argued:

"When you walk in you're welcomed. Everybody says hello to you 'hello Mr. [name interviewee]'. Even if they don't know you [they say] 'good evening sir'. You're made welcome. [...] In the [business] lounge there's an old lady called Betty, she looks after the lounge. We get on like a house on fire, we have a good relationship. I welcome that comfort and warmth that I get from the people here." (ID 32)

Living the 'mobile' life of a regular traveller often means 'inhabiting' or visiting large numbers of spaces in a short time. Many of these spaces are not fixed (like airplanes), transient, and involve little contact with other individuals. This isolation from social contacts is intensified by the large workload of many travellers, and apart from the meetings which are the purpose of the visit, face-to-face interactions are reduced due to mobile phones and laptops⁴³. The hotel, then, is often one of the few places that is 'fixed', and where human face-to-face contact is 'offered'. Human contact can be found in the hotel bar, the restaurant or the more exclusive business lounge, where travellers can interact with hotel staff. This interaction is generally standardised, and never forced upon guests.

Staff-guest interactions will generally start with a guest request or an offering of service from a staff member. This will be followed by the interactions involved with providing this service, but if the situation allows for it, this could result in continued conversation. The example of Betty in the above quote is one example. Another situation would be an interaction in the hotel bar between bar staff and a guest, with the hotel employee providing the guest with his or her requested drink. After the drink has been served, interaction between the bartender and guest will often be concluded, although the bartender will always be available for other service-related requests. When the situation allows it (i.e. it is not busy in the bar) the interaction between the bartender and guest can become informal, and even turn from professional conversations into private 'chat'. The bartender – as an emotional labourer (Hochschild, 1983; Seymour, 2000) – is expected to have the same friendly demeanour and smile in either situation. It could be the bartender who initiates the informal interaction beyond the formal requirements, but the guest will always stay in control and have the agency to either continue or stop the interaction.

⁴³ As discussed in chapter 4, one of the main issues with interviewing travellers at London City Airport was the extensive use of laptops and mobile phones while waiting in the airport lounge.

It should be noted that some clear differences were found in the offering of interaction in different areas of the hotel. Interactions at the reception were largely formal, with the reception area designed in a way that does not encourage guests to ‘hang around’ the reception desk, with seating facilities removed from the desk. In the bar, on the other hand, interactions are allowed to be more informal, with bar stools allowing for guests to be in close and almost constant proximity to the bar staff. Observation gave an insight into the topics discussed in both situations, with CSR practices or a social campaign like a charity fundraiser (as discussed in the previous chapter) only talked about by hotel staff in one hotel, and in formal interactions at the reception desk. The information offered by hotel staff was highly standardized and more a statement than an interaction with the guest. During my observations I did not hear any informal conversations touching on environmental or social issues, with conversations in the bar mainly focusing on common small-talk topics like the weather, the past day, and the traveller’s origins and whereabouts. These conversations were more informal, with an input from the traveller and the staff. It was generally the guest who had the agency to decide the topic of the conversation, and as noted before, the continuation of the interaction was initiated by the guest.

The standardized, upon-request offering of interactions allows travellers that are not interested in social contact to have no or limited interaction with staff. Indeed, while the traveller above (ID 32) enjoyed his contact with Betty, most travellers were looking for their hotel stay to be frictionless, as the following quote illustrates:

“The places we usually go, because it is such a large company, there’s a lot of people from our company going to that hotel, [because it is] a recommended hotel. So when you arrive the hotel knows you’re from that company, so they will treat you in a certain way, it’s a fairly fluid process. You go there, you book in your room, and that’s it pretty much.” (ID 25)

This traveller discussed how hotel staff at company-recommended hotels knows the expectations (e.g. room standard) and procedures (e.g. payment procedures) of his company, which speeds up the check-in process. He continued by saying that he got upset *“about waiting, in a queue in the reception or [when] the internet service [is] not working, anything that along those lines actually makes me less efficient”* (ID 25). Another traveller (ID 42) similarly expected a hotel where *“their breakfast is quick and efficient”*, and where they had *“little areas where I can come and spend quiet time, and just basically concentrate*

on doing my own work.” These quotes show how travellers are under pressure to carry out their jobs, and how they seek spaces that help them to work better. To cater for these expectations, hotels are increasingly introducing business lounges where travellers can work, and self check-in and check-out machines aimed at the busy traveller who does not want, or have time, to wait to be checked in and who does not want or require human contact. Furthermore, travellers looking for solitude always have the possibility to retreat to their bedroom. The importance of a frictionless hotel stay is supported by many interviewed hotel managers, with one saying the following about the importance of a hassle-free check-in:

“[Business] guests come in, they don’t want to be bothered about anything, they just want a seamless check-in, [...] they just want everything to run smoothly. Ideally, I think, most guests would like to walk through the door, straight in the room without having to check-in. In some cases we do that, we offer curb side check-in [for] frequent return guests. They just pick up their key and go straight up to their room, so there [is] no hassle with checking in, or signing anything, or checking credit cards; everything is already done. We just want to get the guest to the room so that they can get comfortable and do their business. (ID 3)

In this quote, the ‘comfort’ of business guests is connected with the speed and ease of the check-in process. According to the manager, less interaction with hotel staff, and less questions or requests needing to be answered by the guest equals a guest who is comfortable. In this sense, travellers desire to maintain, as McNeill (2008: 391) argues, an “anonymous, commercially understood form of hospitality”. While for some travellers interactions with hotel staff were important, even if the ‘authenticity’ of the relationship may be questionable, many others expected their hotel stay to be ‘frictionless’ and with little interaction with hotel staff. As will be discussed in the following section, these expectations of a hassle-free stay, as well as the strain of travelling discussed earlier, can be argued to have a negative impact on travellers’ environmental considerations and practices.

6.4 Travellers’ knowledge of, and attitudes towards, hotel CSR practices

In Chapter 5 it was discussed how the researched London hotels opted to provide only limited information about their CSR practices to guests. CSR practices were often not publicised on hotel websites and on the premises, and the large majority of practices

happened ‘back-of-house’, without any involvement from guests. As has been discussed in Chapter 5, and subsequently in this chapter, two reasons were provided by hotel managers for the limited communication and involvement. Firstly, in Chapter 5, it was argued that guests’ expectations have an impact on the opportunities for hotels to implement, and involve guests in, CSR practices. This being especially an issue for high-end hotels, hotel managers argued that a hotel stay prompted expectations of luxury, with guests consuming excessive amounts of food or water, which inhibited change. Secondly, in the current chapter it was argued that the majority of travellers (and especially business travellers) expect hotel stays to be frictionless and hassle-free and, hence, without requests for participation in CSR practices.

Here I will firstly discuss how these limited attempts to inform and involve guests, impact on business travellers’ knowledge of CSR practices in hotels. The impact of travellers’ knowledge will then be discussed in relation to guests’ awareness and uptake of these CSR practices. It should be noted here once again that the interviewed travellers did not all stay in one of the researched hotels, and I furthermore do not claim that the sample of researched hotels is representative of the entire London hotel industry, or of course the global hotel industry. I would argue, however, that findings from the researched hotels show that there are apparent similarities in the range and quantity of CSR practices implemented by hotels. In other words, there are some hotels that implement innovative and unique practices, but most hotels opt to implement a range of ‘standard’ and popular practices, like recycling, LED lighting and towel reuse programmes. Because of the similarities between hotels, business travellers’ knowledge is considered particularly interesting, as all interviewed travellers had stayed in a number of different hotels in several locations, which means there will have been multiple opportunities to have come in contact with CSR practices.

To assess the knowledge of the interviewed business travellers about CSR practices in hotels, they were asked to sum up the practices they had come across during their stays (see Figure 6.2). Their answers are collated with the actual practices in place in the 21 researched hotels. The findings are shown as percentages to give a better insight in the differences between the actual measures in place in hotels and the knowledge of travellers about these types of measures. The large majority of participants mentioned the towel reuse programme, and the majority of interviewees were also familiar with the linen reuse policy. Other measures were mentioned far less by the participants. Recycling was only mentioned by four travellers, while all researched hotels were recycling guests’ rubbish back-of-house. The overall limited knowledge could be ascribed to many environmental and social

practices taking place behind the scenes. Measures like aerators in water taps or a combined heat and power system (CHP) will be invisible to guests. Furthermore, while hotel managers mentioned measures like dual flush toilets, these might not be perceived as an environmental measure by travellers, as they are becoming ‘standard’ on all new toilets. But even when this is taken into consideration, it is apparent that the knowledge of the interviewees into hotels’ CSR practices is limited.

I will discuss two reasons which better explain the limited knowledge amongst travellers, and which are directly linked to travellers’ attitudes towards, and the uptake of, CSR practices. Travellers’ limited knowledge of hotels’ CSR practices could be a direct result of the limited information provided by hotels, or a limited interest in this information by travellers. As I will argue below, the former leads to travellers having a limited awareness of hotels’ commitments to CSR, and practices are, hence, perceived as insignificant and profit-motivated initiatives. The latter could be a result of a general disinterest in carrying out ERP, or, indeed, a result of the strains of travelling and travellers’ attitudes to staying in hotels.

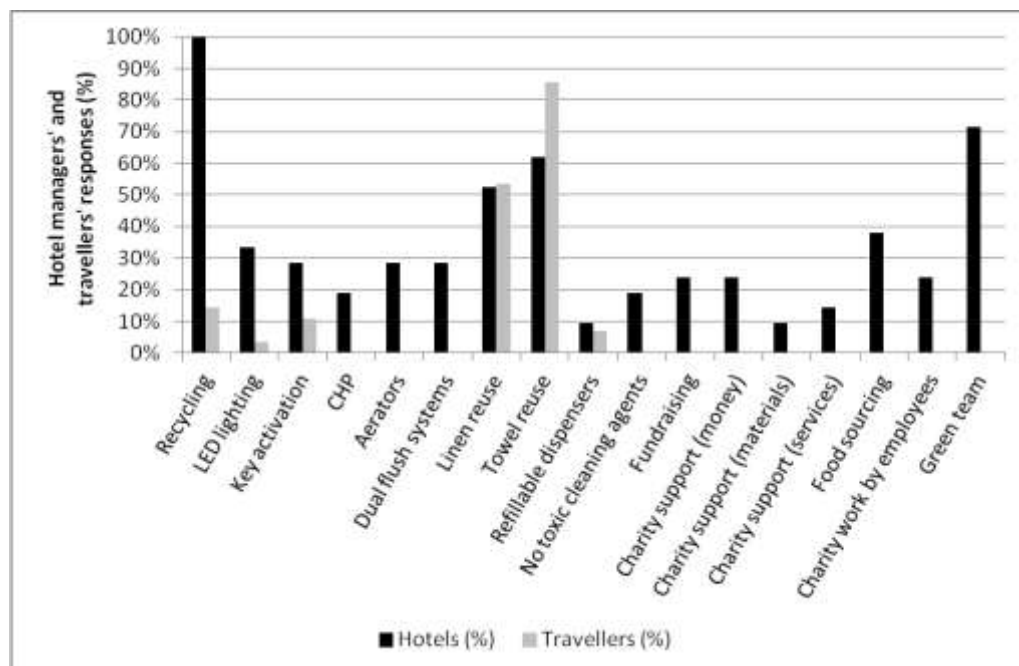


Figure 6.2 Travellers’ knowledge compared to hotels’ implementation of CSR practices⁴⁴

⁴⁴ ‘Recycling’: back and front-of-house recycling of waste; ‘LED lighting’: installation of light-emitting diodes which use less energy than conventional light bulbs; ‘Key activation’: electronic room keys which activate electricity supply to bedroom; ‘CHP’: combined heat and power systems use heat generated during electricity generation for heating purposes; ‘Aerators’: placed in water taps to mix water with air for higher pressure; ‘Dual flush systems’: toilets which offer the user the possibility to flush two different quantities of water; ‘Linen reuse’ and ‘towel reuse’: hotel programme where guests can choose to reuse their towels and linen; ‘Refillable dispensers’: soap and

6.4.1 Cynicism about CSR practices

As shown in Figure 6.2, most travellers had knowledge about towel and linen reuse programmes. This is not surprising, as this programme is one of the few practices that require the cooperation of guests, and often the only one that is clearly communicated to guests through stickers or cards in the bed and bathroom. Low-impact practices like the towel and linen reuse programme, however, have low implementation costs and can result in a significant cost saving for the hotel. From the interviews with travellers it was apparent that they understood the financial benefits this practice could bring for the hotel. With most travellers only being aware of this low-impact, cost-saving practice – and potentially not about other practices which might not be cost-saving and have a larger impact – they often showed their discontent about hotels' CSR efforts, as one traveller explains:

“The towel thing, I’m starting to find that quite annoying. I really do, because they’re always so smarmy about it. You kind of know they do it to save themselves money, but they always say ‘ooh it’s to protect the environment’. I know you lie, I’m getting sick of it.” (ID 52)

The quote illustrates the traveller's disgruntlement about his perception that hotels were trying to save money under the guise of environmental efforts. Figure 6.3 gives two examples of the towel reuse cards the interviewee is referring to. Both cards request guests to reuse their towels for environmental reasons. Note, however, how the right card states that the hotel plants a tree for every 5 towels that are reused. Although it could be argued that this hotel, then, will not make any cost savings from its towel reuse programme, just under half (14) of all interviewees said they believed hotels primarily implemented towel reuse programmes to save money, rather than to reduce their environmental impact. This indicates that the interviewed travellers did not necessarily perceive the towel and linen reuse programme as a 'true' CSR practice which was implemented by the hotel to reduce their environmental impact. Combining this finding with Figure 6.2, which showed that the

shampoo dispensers in the bathroom, rather than little bottles; 'No toxic cleaning agents': only natural and/or biodegradable cleaning products used by housekeeping; 'Fundraising': donation requests from guests for charity; 'Charity support (money)': donate a share of hotel profits to charities; 'Charity support (materials)': donate materials like old linens, food, books etc. to charities; 'Charity support (services)': allow charities to use hotel services, like meeting rooms, free of charge; 'Food sourcing': commit to sourcing food with a predetermined standard, like local, organic or sustainable food; 'Charity work by employees': allow hotel employees time off to volunteer or organise volunteering events like painting schools; 'Green Team': team consisting of hotel staff that manages the implementation of CSR practices.

large majority of travellers were only aware of towel and linen reuse programmes, it could be argued that business travellers' limited knowledge of CSR practices meant that they assigned very little importance to CSR practices as a selection criterion when booking a hotel.



Figure 6.3: Two examples of towel reuse programme cards

For none of the interviewed travellers, a hotel's CSR commitment or performance was an important selection criterion when booking a hotel, with a consultant explaining it as follows:

"Nobody is going to stop in a Marriott hotel because they bloody recycle their towels, or because they've got an environmentally friendly sticker in the bathrooms saying 'we are environmentally friendly'. Nobody on this God's

Earth, unless they're a do-gooder, is going to stop here because they're environmentally friendly with the towels.” (ID 32)

This quote shows that this traveller is only aware of the towel and linen reuse programme, which is a low-impact practice which does not pull in guests, except for “do-gooders”. When asked what he meant with the term ‘do-gooders’, the traveller said he referred to people taking part in ‘stop the war’ rallies. While this not necessarily clarifies why he believed those people would stay at a towel-reusing Marriott hotel, it does show that this traveller believed there is a particular group of people that would care about such CSR practices, but they believed that the large majority of travellers was not part of this group and would not base their booking decision on this CSR practice. Although this consultant’s wording might be particularly strong, the fact that his knowledge of CSR practices only reached as far as the towel and linen reuse programme, and he therefore argued that the presence of CSR practices was not a selection criterion, was echoed by many interviewed business travellers. Another traveller (ID 25) shook his head when asked whether he had any experience of coming across or participating in CSR practices in hotels he had stayed at, and said:

“... I don’t particularly think about it. After this conversation I probably will, but will I like to see it? Yes I would. [...] If there’s genuinely some benefit to be had in terms of staying in one hotel or the other, then that’s fine. But then, if I think about the way my company, or I perceive my company to be dealing with it, I would be very cynical towards the hotel that’s trying to sell me services based on green credentials. The cynicism would come from the fact that I would be inclined to think that effectively they’re doing it as a ploy to get me to stay there, rather than somewhere else. Because the competition between hotels is quite intense, prices are constantly going at heads, and as a differentiation model, this is something that springs to mind. ‘Let’s come to the hotel, we’re different, because we’re green’. They might not be any more green than any other hotel in the area, but they say it, and therefore have more business, so if they do it I would also like to be informed about why they’re more green than any of the other hotels in that area.” (ID 25)

A number of observations can be drawn from this quote. Firstly, it shows that this traveller is not against CSR practices, but rather that he had not thought about them, which was the case with most travellers. He furthermore speaks about a ‘cynicism’ regarding the intentions

and extent of CSR practices implemented by hotels, which links back to the previous quote. Many travellers discussed how CSR practices were not important, not only because practical criteria like location, price, cleanliness, service standards and security would always trump CSR commitments (as was discussed in the previous chapter, and also by Harris (2009)), but also because the practices which were communicated to guests, with the towel and linen reuse programme a prime example, were perceived as insignificant.

6.4.2 The wastefulness of hotels and making complaints

As was discussed in Chapter 5, the interviewed hotel managers said that their guests used excessive amounts of food and water. Many business travellers agreed that hotels were wasteful places, but put the responsibility for this with hotel management. Almost half of the interviewed travellers argued that low-impact practices like towel reuse programmes did not compensate for the general wastefulness of hotels. Seven participants argued that a culture of excessive food preparation existed in hotels, with three arguing that hotels should put more efforts into offering the left-over food to charities. Four interviewees argued that more hotels should get dispensers for soap and shampoo/body wash in their bathrooms, which could be refilled instead of using little bottles. Two participants complained that the air-conditioning was always on, and two participants argued that providing guests with a range of newspapers was wasteful and unnecessary. Four interviewees were irritated by the fact that their towels were changed when they had specifically requested to reuse them. One interviewee explained:

“I don’t need my towels changed every day; I don’t change them every day at home so I will leave it on the peg. In some hotels they still take it away and give you fresh towels, and that happens on a daily basis. I think, ‘what’s the point of having that notice, and what’s the point of me putting my towels on the peg’. So that’s in many respects quite frustrating. [...] Quite frankly I think there is a huge amount of waste in these hotels. [...] I can see the benefit of [complaining], but by the time I get back to the hotel and realise that they’ve done it, it’s been a long day, I’m tired, and [I] just leave it.” (ID 28)

Three interesting observations can be made from this quote. Firstly, this traveller draws a comparison between her behaviour in the hotel and when at home. This comparison was also made by hotel managers in the previous chapter, although they argued that guests changed their behaviour when staying in a hotel, while this traveller said her towel usage does not change in comparison to her home behaviour. In the next section of this chapter I

will return to this by exploring the differences in home and away behaviour. Secondly, the quote illustrates how this traveller perceived hotels as wasteful places, where hotel staff would not always comply with her ('green') choices. The hotel thereby neglected to help her reduce the impact of her hotel stay, and missed opportunities to prove to her that there was a genuine concern about the hotel's environmental impact. The final observation relates to the traveller's decision not to complain. Like the interviewee quoted here, the other three interviewees whose choice to reuse their towel was disregarded also did not complain about the towel change. They seemed frustrated that a conscious choice was not followed up correctly by hotel staff. This feeling of frustration is arguably greater because their choice is ignored than due to the negative impact the towel change would have on the environment. In any case, it could result in the traveller resisting "being recruited" into participation at a later date (Warde, 2005: 145). Here, however, I would like to focus on the reason the traveller gave for not complaining.

The traveller in the above quote said she did not complain because she was tired after a long day. By linking her physical and mental fitness to the activities of that day (or past days), she effectively relates her actions upon return to the hotel to the strain of travelling for work. The fact that regular travellers generally experienced travelling as a mental and physical strain could influence travellers' perceptions of hotels and consequently their behaviour in hotels. In the case of complaining about towel reuse practices, this means that having to go through the procedures of making a complaint will add 'friction' to the hotel stay, with the traveller seemingly not willing to cope with this after a tiring working day. Next to travellers expecting limited friction to be generated by hotel staff and hotel procedures, they themselves also did not want to create friction. The strain of travelling resulted in travellers expecting a hotel to be a place where they can relax, as the following traveller explained:

"it's always really nice and relaxing to come up to a hotel room, like the bed is all made and you can just kind of fall down onto it and go to sleep." (ID35)

After a long day of work the hotel is a place where travellers can withdraw and relax. A clean hotel room (or the knowledge that the room will have been cleaned upon return) helps alleviate stress, similarly to knowing that hotel staff already knows one's preference of pillows (as was discussed above). This notion of 'knowing that it will be taken care of' is important to travellers because of their often busy schedules while travelling and the toll this takes on their mental and physical fitness. Having a place where they feel comfortable and are able to relax was a prominent selection criterion for interviewed travellers.

From this discussion it could be concluded that travellers show very limited concerns about their environmental impact when travelling. I have argued that this is a result of limited awareness of hotel practices and the need for travellers to focus on their work, without having to consider their behaviour in the hotel. As I will argue next, this argument is supported by a comparison of the same travellers' ERP in their home situation. A comparison between home and away practices provides insights into the effects of travelling on travellers' mental and physical state and their concerns about their environmental impact.

6.5 'Green' lifestyles at home and when away

The concept of 'away' experiences being inherently different than experiences in the home environment has been widely reported. Scholars have often focused on the "compensatory" aspect of tourism (Caruana & Crane, 2011: 1497), referring to tourists' pursuit of escaping and compensating for their mundane everyday life. Holidays, then, are undertaken to get away from the 'boring' lives in the home environment (Caruana & Crane, 2011; Crompton, 1979). A number of studies have used this notion to research the differences in environmental behaviour between travellers' home and 'away' behaviour. Becken (2007) found that individuals make a distinction between their everyday lives and holidays, and a disposition towards environmental behaviour in everyday life is not necessarily a determinant for environmental behaviour during holidays. The pursuit of hypermobility amongst leisure travellers is argued by Becken to particularly diminish individuals' efforts to carry out pro-environmental actions. Weaver (2008) has argued that individuals knowingly suspend their environmental behaviour when going on holiday, while Barr et al. (2010: 475) found that even very environmentally committed individuals had problems transferring their home commitments into their holiday behaviour, because they felt that "holidays were 'different' to everyday life in terms of their environmental commitments". A recent study by Miao and Wei (2013) is to my knowledge the only attempt to compare behaviour in the home and in a hotel setting. The authors argue that their 1185 participants, who were employees of an American university and who had stayed in a hotel for leisure or business purposes, consistently displayed higher levels of environmental behaviour in the home situation than in a hotel. They continued by arguing that in the home setting, normative motives – feeling morally obliged to act environmentally friendly – were dominant determinants, while in the hotel environmental behaviour is competing with motives like personal comfort and enjoyment.

Except for Miao and Wei (2013), all these studies into environmental behaviour are solely focused on leisure travellers. This might be because leisure travel is linked to ‘getting away from it all’, while business travel is a continuation, or intensification, of daily working life. Findings from my research into ERP seem to support this argument with regards to certain practices. One apparent example which came up in many interviews related to the expectations of housekeeping services. A consultant, most of the year staying in the same hotel for four days per week, explained:

“I put the do not disturb sign [up], because I prefer my room not to be cleaned every day, because it doesn’t actually need to be cleaned every day. When you come in and it’s a nice made bed, you know, a few years ago I would have [liked that], but the last sort of 2 or 3 years I tend to really not want them to do that. I come in and all the pillows are built up, [so] I have to take all the pillows off and put them at the side of the room. [...] They clean it and tidy it for me when I arrive on Monday, and it’s only 4 days, I don’t tidy at home more regular than that. [...] I don’t look for it to be pristine and tidy, and I don’t make a mess.” (ID 33)

Eight other travellers said they hung the ‘do not disturb’ sign on the door, as they did not want their room to be cleaned on a daily basis. Due to their working duties, trips were often characterised as mundane and tiring, rather than enjoyable. Instead of ‘getting away from it all’, business trips were a continuation of everyday working lives, only often in unfamiliar locations and without family and friends. Time spent in the hotel was limited because of long working days – according to the travellers, especially when compared to leisure trips – but the hotel room was an important aspect of a successful trip, as it functioned as a quasi-home where they could relax at the end of the day. By considering the hotel room as his home, and with little time spent ‘at home’, the quoted traveller compared the cleaning of his room to his home situation where he does not clean every day. While this cleaning service, a ‘luxury’ that is a central component of any hotel business, might have been appreciated by the traveller when he first started travelling, it is now seen as unnecessary and a hassle. Even though he is away from his home environment, then, his practices in the away environment are arguably more similar to that in the home environment.

For some practices, then, it can be argued that travellers behave as they would in their home situation, but the emphasis here is on *some*. Indeed, the large majority of travellers said they changed their practices when away on a business trip, especially in regards to ERP. Figure

6.4 provides an insight into the pro-environmental practices travellers said they adopted in their home environment. Recycling, travel measures and practices that reduced energy consumption (e.g. energy-saving light bulbs, turning off lights when leaving a room) were popular mitigation measures, and while no examples were provided to the interviewees, most (25) were able to explain one or more pro-environmental practices they carried out.

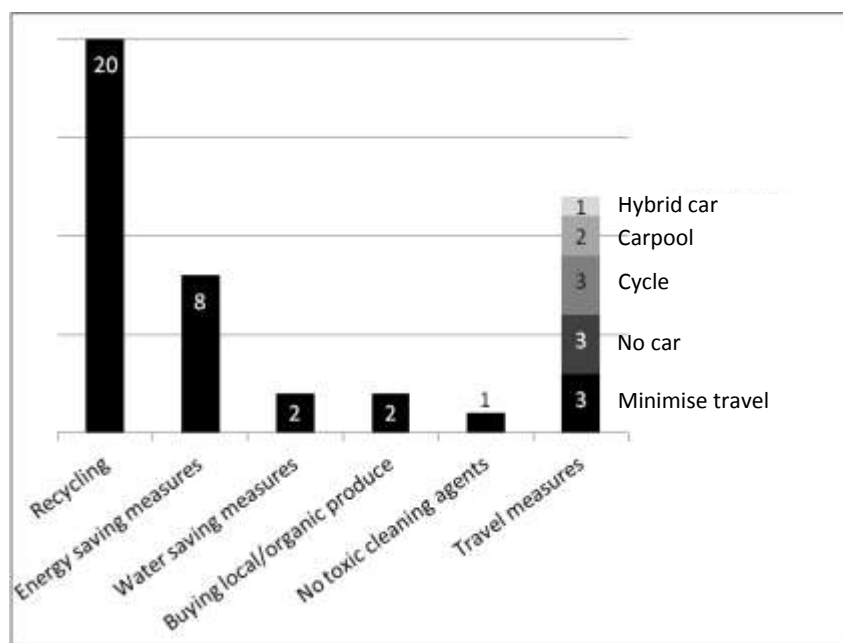


Figure 6.4: Travellers' reported pro-environmental practices in their home environment (n=34)

Many travellers carried these practices out in their home environment, because of a concern or consideration of the human impact on the natural environment. Almost all travellers (31 of 34 interviewees) accepted that climate change is happening and that human actions contribute to this process. Three other interviewees denied the existence of climate change or the human impact on the phenomenon. They argued that it was a natural phenomenon that could not be impacted by human behaviour, or as one interviewee argued: “*men will always be able to destroy men, but not the Earth*” (ID 47). Furthermore, of the travellers that accepted the human impact on global warming, not all travellers believed climate change to be a bad phenomenon, with three travellers arguing that climate change did not impact them personally, and as one traveller put it:

“... it's not a fashionable view, but I don't really actually care about [my impact on the climate]. I'm getting older and actually I'm in favour of global warming, but that's just between the two of us. Because, eventually, as I get

older I've got the choice, either I can move to the South of France or Spain, or the climate could change and that climate could come to me.” (ID 33)

This traveller discussed his views rather reluctantly, since he felt that perceiving climate change as a positive phenomenon is ‘not a fashionable view’. He seems to believe that he is expected to have a different view and to change his practices accordingly. Indeed, many travellers who accepted that their practices had an impact on the natural environment were influenced by the views or expectations of others to change their practices. The impact of referent others on an individual’s moral or ethical behaviour, and the impact of an obligation to others, has been discussed in the literature (Ajzen, 1991; Shaw & Clarke, 1999). Like the traveller quoted above, however, not everybody was influenced by others to carry out more pro-environmental practices, as another traveller argued:

“I strongly believe that each one of us has to start making [environmental changes]. But I told you, the problem is about the recognition. When politicians, when they say all these good things everybody applauds and everybody says ‘ooh, this guy has got a vision’, so in a way he is looking for the appreciation. At an individual level that appreciation doesn’t come, and that’s the reason why at a behavioural level it doesn’t have that impact. [...] At an individual capacity, which is my home, I should be looking at it, but I don’t look at it.” (ID 55)

This traveller argues that he does not get enough recognition for changing his practices. He questions why he would change his practices, because he, as a normal citizen, does not get the recognition for changing his practices that high-profile individuals might get. This means that this is not an incentive for him to change his practices. While for some their family or the society they lived in would influence their lifestyle and the inclusion of more ERP, for others this did not appear to be the case. This heterogeneity of responses from different travellers was apparent across the board, with different opinions about climate change, the influence of humans on climate and the natural environment, and different responses to individuals’ opinions and beliefs. Many travellers who accepted that climate change is happening, and who accepted the impact of human behaviour, had different ways of mitigating their behaviour at home. A few others did not believe that their individual changes would make an impact, but as Figure 6.4 showed, most had reconsidered certain practices to attempt to lessen the burden they placed on the natural environment.

While the majority of interviewees said that the attitudes to their environmental impact influenced their home practices, there appeared to be an attitude-behaviour gap in travel situations (Carrington et al., 2010; Papaoikonomou et al., 2011). Many travellers agreed that their travelling lifestyles and corresponding practices were not in line with common strategies to mitigate human impacts on the environment, but, as the following quote illustrates, they had not consciously considered the impact of travelling:

“It’s kind of a catch 22. Because yes, [my environmental impact] does worry me, but when it comes to travel, I don’t [make decisions] that consciously. That’s maybe bizarre, maybe hypocritical. There is stuff where I am much more conscious. I mean when it comes to simple stuff like the waste, at home we do all that stuff. [...] From that perspective I am definitely a lot more conscious, but when it comes to [travelling], you just get on a plane without thinking. That little flight from Amsterdam to London probably is worth a year of fuel in my car, so I’m not sure why I am not that conscious.” (ID30)

This quote illustrates that this traveller makes a distinction between his practices at home and when travelling. While his ‘worry’ about his environmental impact resulted in some practices to mitigate this (he provides the example of waste management), in other situations (when booking and taking a flight) this worry does not translate into a change in practices. There are two observations to be made here, one focusing on the agency to change practices, and the other on the difference between conscious and unconscious practices.

The traveller argues that waste management is “*simple stuff*” and, hence, it can be deduced that changing his flying practices would be harder or more difficult. This distinction points at a feeling of powerlessness from the traveller. This was a common recurrence, with another traveller (ID 35) saying that at work he did not get to decide whether to travel or not, and that he would lose his job if he decided not to. According to Giddens (1984), individuals have the agency to change structures, like the expectations to fly to business meetings, but that structural constraints could result in very few *feasible* alternatives. Flying is understood by the travellers as an integral part of the business model that assures that they have a job. Therefore, if they decide not to fly, they could lose their job. Hence, their only feasible choice is to fly. This powerlessness leads to a reduced sense of responsibility for their actions. At home they have more control over their actions and, hence, are also more responsible for their choices. While travelling, the reduced sense of agency takes away their sense of responsibility. Furthermore, it possibly takes away their sense of guilt, because

attempting to change their practices can lead to them losing their job, while the business model which encourages business travel will stay unchanged unless all travellers stop flying. This means that, when considering flying as an environmentally damaging practice, an individual's decision to stop flying will not necessarily reduce the amount of people flying and the emissions that come with that.

The second observation to be made from the quote above is the distinction the traveller makes between conscious (recycling in the home environment) and unconscious practices (flying as part of the away environment). Another regular traveller similarly said he believed *"in the impact particularly our generation and previous generations have had on the planet"*, but that he *"never really had thought of [his] travelling impact as part of that"* (ID 48). He argued, however, that at home he considered his family's environmental impact in many actions and decisions. These travellers, then, do not deny the environmental impact of their travelling lifestyles, but argue that they think less consciously about their environmental impact when away from their home environment. Business travel takes travellers to unfamiliar environments, and many travellers argued that this was the prime reason for other than environmental motives to determine their practices. As one traveller explained:

"At home I have systems, it's easy, I know what to do. When travelling with work I've got to make an effort to find out where I can recycle what waste, and so it [i]s more a convenience thing. If something was obvious, like recycling bins, then I would use them, but if it wasn't then I probably just chuck things in the hotel bin." (ID 50)

This traveller discusses how at home he has 'systems' in place for recycling, which means that recycling is a habitual and routinized practice. The practice of recycling is embedded in social practices through which individual travellers are enacting an identity of a good or caring citizen (Barnett, Clarke, Cloke, & Malpass, 2005). Recycling at home is not a "self-reflexively conscious practice", but rather an everyday routine practice which is "ordinarily ethical" (Barnett et al., 2005: 28). When in a different environment, however, where recycling 'systems' are not in place, having to find recycling facilities is an inconvenience that deters the traveller from engaging in this practice. In other words, the traveller is willing to change his home-practice of recycling to non-recycling, because of the inconvenience linked to finding the required facilities. This inconvenience was not confined to recycling, with another traveller (ID 53) arguing that he took taxis instead of public transport because

it was more convenient to get picked up at the hotel and dropped off at the destination, without having to research what route to take or how long it will take.

This is not to say that convenience does not also play a role in the home environment, with many interviewees basing the uptake of ERP in their home situation also on the convenience. As one traveller (ID 26) said: *"I think [my decisions] kind of depend on what area of my life I'm impacting, because there are certain things that I'm willing to inconvenience myself [...] and others I don't."* While convenience, then, is a partial determinant for practices, arguably in both the home and the *in situ* environment, in the case of business travel there is an underlying argument relating to *time pressures* associated with travelling, and *structures* which help or inhibit business travellers carry out practices (Giddens, 1984). In the case of recycling, many people have structures in place at home which allow them to recycle in a convenient manner, but when staying in a hotel, travellers are largely dependent on the structures which are in place in the hotel. This means that an absence of recycling facilities inhibits travellers from recycling, and with many travellers being pressurised for time, going beyond the available structures to recycle is an inconvenience and adds to 'friction'. In the next chapter I will focus more intently on the structures that constrain the uptake of ERP amongst business travellers. For now it can be concluded that being away from home and under the strain of travelling seems to have a negative impact on business travellers' uptake of ERP. Practices like taking taxis and not 'bothering' with recycling were routinized in the *in situ* environments. In contrast, at home, recycling, cycling and partaking in energy saving practices were, for many travellers, generally routinized. This highlights how travellers' limited engagement in ERP when travelling is in part due to the strains of travelling, rather than necessarily a complete lack of concern about their environmental impact.

6.6 Conclusions

This chapter has sought to discuss the business travellers' attitudes to travelling and staying in hotels, subsequently linking these attitudes to their ERP when away from home. Generally, attitudes to travelling differed considerably between individual travellers, supporting the notion that business travel is a heterogeneous practice and business travellers are a heterogeneous group of individuals. The differences in attitudes can be largely explained by factors like the frequency and purpose of travelling. On the one hand there were consultants who travelled most weeks to the same location to do their day job. They had a lot of free time in the evening and often referred to their experiences as '*boring*' or

'mundane'. On the other hand, there were travellers that undertook business trips to complete tasks that were in addition to their day job, which effectively meant that they were working two shifts per day. They were, therefore, very busy while travelling, with especially hypermobile travellers referring to travel as a 'tiring' and 'stressful' experience. While it was these travellers that often tried to reduce their travels, they were also the ones who argued most strongly about the importance of travelling and face-to-face meetings. Indeed, all interviewed travellers stated the importance of face-to-face meetings for their job.

For many travellers, travelling constituted a *strain on their physical and mental health*. Jetlags, eating rich foods in restaurants and limited opportunities for physical activity resulted in physical strains, while constantly inhabiting non-places and leaving family and friends were seen as mental and emotional strains. Business trips, however, could also be seen as positive, as it gave travellers possibilities of adding a holiday at the end of the business trip. Furthermore, it allowed travellers time to do work without an internet connection or 'behind' an out-of-office reply, and it could allow for a good night's sleep away from a busy household.

Hotel spaces were important to 'fix' transient bodies, with a predictable hotel stay possibly reducing stress. Hotel rooms were seen as quasi-homes where travellers could return at the end of the day and relax. Social interaction with hotel staff was important to some travellers – mainly consultants who would return to the same hotel over and over – but most travellers argued that hotel stays should be hassle-free and '*frictionless*', supporting claims from hotel managers in the previous chapter.

In Chapter 5 it was discussed how hotels limited their communication towards, and involvement of, guests in CSR practices. Hotel managers argued that guests expected a luxurious stay, but also a stay where guests would not be 'bothered' or 'hassled'. This chapter has shown that business travellers expect certain luxuries, but that a 'frictionless' hotel stay was more important. It was discussed how the strain of travelling, and expectations of a hotel stay without friction, impacted travellers' considerations of their environmental impact. This chapter, then, has argued that the intensity of travelling influenced interviewees' attitudes towards travelling, but it also influenced the uptake of ERP amongst travellers at the travel destination. Particularly through a comparison between travellers' home and away behaviour it was established that the strain of travelling had a potential influence on the ERP that were carried out. At home most travellers had implemented certain practices to reduce their environmental impact, but when away most

travellers agreed that their lifestyles changed into a set of practices which largely excluded environmental considerations.

In this chapter it was, furthermore, explained how some travellers perceived the absence of opportunities to participate in CSR practices in hotels as negatively influencing their uptake of ERP. As a consequence of hotels' limited communication of CSR practices, knowledge amongst business travellers of such practices was limited. I have shown in this chapter that most travellers were only aware of towel and linen reuse programmes. This prompted these travellers to perceive hotels' CSR practices as money saving endeavours under the guise of responsible business, while not seeing that there might be occasions where economic and environmental benefits coincide. Furthermore, some travellers perceived towel and linen reuse programmes as insignificant in comparison to the generally wasteful nature of hotels operations.

It can be argued, then, that many business travellers, in explaining their practices and in talking about their sense of tiredness, particularly 'blame' hotels for the lack of ERP they carry out in hotels. Almost half of all travellers argued that hotels are wasteful places with guests having few meaningful ways to improve on this. Involvement in CSR practices is very limited and choices like reusing ones towel might be ignored by hotel staff. According to the interviewed business travellers, this gives them little agency to reduce their environmental impact when staying in a hotel.

I argued that the strain of travelling, also, has a significant impact on the behaviour of business travellers, which is a result of expectations placed upon them by their employers. Business travellers are sent to often unfamiliar locations, and are expected to take on a high workload when at the destination. The unfamiliarity of their surroundings arguably results in business travellers having to put extra effort into carrying out ERP, because many travellers argued that practices like recycling were embedded into existing structures at home, but the existence of these structures is unfamiliar to business travellers when away. Because of the high workload, travellers are often not willing or able to put this extra effort into carrying out ERP. In the next chapter I will further examine the structural barriers and constraints that stop business travellers from undertaking ERP at the travel destination.

7

INHIBITING PRO-ENVIRONMENTAL PRACTICES: STRUCTURAL CONSTRAINTS AND THE BUSINESS TRAVEL COMMUNITY

The main focus of the previous chapter was on the attitudes of business travellers towards travelling and staying in hotels, and these attitudes were subsequently linked to business travellers' uptake of environment-related practices (ERP) in hotels. Due to the strain of travelling, it was argued that it is very important for business travellers to reduce 'friction' during their travels. Business travellers were reported as saying that hotels offered limited opportunities to carry out ERP, and that, therefore, carrying out ERP increased the 'friction' to them. In this chapter I will further investigate the constraints which stop business travellers from undertaking ERP when at the travel destination.

For the discussion of constraints, I will use Giddens' (1984) structuration theory, introduced in Chapter 2, which helps to understand how practices are shaped by structures. Giddens' structuration theory supports the discussions that I will have in this and the next chapter. In the current chapter I will discuss how existing structures, which are present in hotels and are implemented by business travellers' employers, negatively influence the ERP business travellers carry out. Then, in Chapter 8, I will look at opportunities to change structures to enable an increase in the uptake of pro-environmental practices. As discussed in Chapter 2, Giddens (1984) refers to structures as sets of rules and resources which shape routinized practices carried out by individuals. These rules and resources could be 'grounded' in societal norms or expectations, but also in expectations from employers. In this case, I will focus particularly on structures which are present in hotels and formulated by employers as rules and expectations.

An important contribution that Giddens makes in his structuration theory is the notion that structures should not be understood as mere constraints. According to Giddens, structures can similarly be enabling, and individuals have the agency to change structures. The power to change structures depends on the agency of the individual. Giddens perceives agency as an individual's *capability* to undertake an action. He (1984: 9) explains that "agency concerns events of which an individual is the perpetrator, in the sense that the individual could, at any phase in a given sequence of conduct, have acted differently." This means that agents are able to intervene in structural processes that surround them, or indeed choose to refrain from doing so and comply with the pre-existing structural properties that are present,

and thus reinforce them. Before I can apply Giddens' concept of the 'duality of structure' in Chapter 8, however, I will first in this chapter discuss the extensive constraints that are hampering business travellers from carrying out ERP, and from changing existing structures.

While the previous chapters, then, have focused on the status quo of CSR and ERP in business travel, in this chapter I will focus on the constraints to changing individual travellers' practices. I will do this by referring back to the discussions of Chapter 6 on the strains of travelling, and the differences in practices in the home and away environments. I will furthermore expand on the discussions around 'friction'. A discussion of constraints to business travellers' uptake of ERP will provide an insight into reasons for the differences in practices at home and when away. This distinction between home and away practices, and particularly how the interviewed business travellers justified their practices in both environments, will be central in the discussion of this chapter. Individual travellers were found to be reflecting on their practices in and around the home more than when away on travels. I will argue in this chapter that this is partly due to travellers' self-identity, which, when away, is shaped by being part of a business travel community.

7.1 Constraints to changing practices related to business travel

For a discussion of constraints which inhibit business travellers from carrying out ERP, a distinction should be made between constraints that inhibit travellers from stopping or lessening their travel, and constraints that inhibit travellers to carry out *in situ* ERP when away on their travels. This thesis predominantly focuses on *in situ* ERP (i.e. the latter), but here I will briefly discuss constraints for both areas. Discussing both areas will provide a better understanding of the constraints that inhibit the uptake of ERP, and a comparison between these areas shows how there are significant differences, but also similarities, between the two. I will start with the constraints which prevent many travellers from deciding to stop travelling for business.

As I introduced in Chapter 2, Giddens (1984) argues in his discussion of agency that individuals always have an opportunity to change their practices, although the alternatives to current practices will not always be perceived as *feasible* by the agent. Considering this concept of agency, business travellers have the option to, for example, stop flying for work, but this will generally be seen as a very radical and unfeasible option because of the perceived economic consequences of such a decision for the individual. One traveller, for

example, said that his decision to stop taking business trips would mean that he would lose his job and that *“you don’t get paid anymore, and then the bank is going to take your house back”* (ID 35). From an environmental point of view, however, there are good reasons to reduce flying. Most business trips involve flying (UNWTO, 2012), and flying is the main contributor to the total greenhouse gas emissions of business trips (Gössling & Peeters, 2007; Patterson, Niccolucci, & Bastianoni, 2007). Stopping or minimizing travel would, therefore, have a considerable environmental benefit. The dilemma for individual travellers is that there are some structural constraints which stop them from making this decision. Business travel was an expectation from employers of the interviewed business travellers, which was related to productivity. All business travellers argued that business travel enhanced their productivity, and hence to stop travelling would mean a dip in productivity. Technological advancements like video conferencing were perceived as an alternative to travelling, but not a fully satisfying one. A traveller said:

“You can have virtual conferences online, but it is not like the real thing. You will not be able to have a drink afterwards with people, and get to know each other, or you know, there’s all the networking that takes place. And also, there is value in spending time in a foreign country, both from a professional point of view, and from a personal development point of view.” (ID 31)

A number of reasons were given by this traveller to prefer face-to-face over virtual meetings. Being in the same room or space with other people, which Goffman (1963) calls ‘co-presence,’ allows travellers to bond and network on a more personal level. Travelling to other countries with other cultural contexts has, furthermore, according to this business traveller, benefits on a professional and personal level. Like this traveller, none of the travellers felt that virtual meetings could substitute for face-to-face contact. This does not mean, however, that phone and video-conferencing were disliked or not used. On the contrary, some travellers were boasting about the amount of time they spent on conference calls. One interviewee (ID 30) said that his *“record on a 40 hour workweek was 27 hours of phone conferencing”*, with another (ID 48) stating that he was *“on conference calls with people from other continents 60 percent of any given day”*. Phone and video-conferences were said to be ideal for a *“2 or 3 hour meeting”* (ID 33), and a much needed alternative according to a traveller (ID 35) who had *“flown somewhere for a one hour meeting before”*. Although technology has the potential to reduce travelling, all interviewed travellers unanimously agreed that virtual meetings were not a substitute for face-to-face meetings, especially not when meeting someone for the first time, with one traveller (ID 25) saying

that in that case “*spending one hour with someone is as good as a hundred phone calls*”. Due to the irreplaceable nature of physical travel, business travellers therefore feel that they have no choice but to travel. While the existence of choice was theoretically present, the travellers’ sense of choice (Kleine, 2010; Kleine et al., 2012) was not.

Constraints to *ERP at the location* are in some ways similar to constraints to stopping travel. Again, the behaviour of many travellers was determined by expectations of productivity by their employers. A main difference exists in the constraints that lead to travellers deciding *not* to carry out ERP. The interviews with business travellers found four distinguishable types of constraints which inhibited ERP. The four constraints were: 1) no facilities to carry out ERP; 2) carrying out such practices adds friction; 3) carrying out such practices adds time; and 4) carrying out such practices might add (financial) costs, since ERP might be a more expensive alternative, and travellers may not have access to funds to make decisions on carrying out these practices. The first two constraints have been extensively discussed in Chapter 6, and I will therefore only touch on these briefly. In the previous chapter, a discussion of one traveller’s (ID 50) recycling practices in hotels concluded that he would generally throw his recyclables in the waste bin, because hotels had no recycling bins in the bedroom or lobby. In this case, the absence of facilities meant that attempting to carry out the practice of recycling added friction to the traveller’s hotel stay. It was furthermore discussed how CSR practices could add friction, which was something business travellers tried to avoid.

The third issue, of ERP needing a larger time investment, is naturally related to the constraints as discussed above. For time pressured business travellers, the absence of recycling bins equals adding time to the practice of recycling, which means adding friction. The following quote explains how the availability of time can also influence the practice of booking a hotel:

“[T]ravel is usually based on convenience, so we would book [the flight] not only on cost, but also on the time that it gets in and out. The hotel will be booked on proximity to where we need to get to. [...] I don’t have time to go searching for [hotels with sustainability practices], because that time costs money. My charge rate is about £100 an hour, so if I’m spending an hour browsing for things, that’s £100 which I need to either charge my client or charge my team. [...] The concept of it being environmentally conscientious

isn't a constraint, it's not that people object to [the hotel] being conscious of its environmental impact; it's down to convenience, pure and simple." (ID 26)

Due to time pressures, and the expectation to keep costs low, this traveller did not attempt to change the status quo, but instead followed the routinized booking process as expected. Booking flights and hotel stays is a routinized and often outsourced practice for most business travellers. Deviating from this by insisting on staying in 'green' hotels will need an investment in time and money, as, according to interviewed travellers, hotel selections were not based on this factor. Hence, the time needed to change these practices, and the extra costs this would incur, were perceived as constraints. It could be argued, then, that the CSR commitments of hotels were not seen as important enough to make the interviewed business travellers digress from their routine and spend extra time to research the offer of hotels on the market. It would be wrong to argue, however, that the traveller quoted above (and similarly the majority of other interviewed travellers) did not want to be environmentally conscious or reduce their environmental impact; they reported that time pressures and the importance of keeping costs low simply meant that other activities trumped booking a 'green' hotel. Although some travellers said they did not care about their environmental impact (see Chapter 6), many did, but with employers placing expectations upon employees' output, these travellers were not willing to, or did not feel able to, spend time and money on researching CSR practices implemented in hotels. As was shown in Chapter 5, finding information about hotels' CSR practices can be difficult and might need a considerable investment of time, which many of my interviewees said they did not have.

These last two constraints in particular – time and money – have been found to inhibit environmental or ethical behaviour in other studies. For instance, the impact of time pressure on moral or ethical behaviour has been researched in different study settings, as laid out in Chapter 2. Darley and Batson (1973), for example, researched how available time impacted on the helping behaviour amongst students, finding that time pressure was correlated with not helping a stranger in need. Barnett et al.'s (2011: 132) research into ethical consumption, furthermore found that respondents were not willing to spend "a lot of time and energy [o]n making 'ethical' choices". Kleine, Light and Montero (2012), likewise, focused on the purchasing process of Fair Trade products, and referred to supermarkets as 'time-pressured environments' in which the purchasing of more ethical Fair Trade products was partially determined by the time participants were willing to spend on researching and considering different product options. The argument of costs is similarly found in a number of studies, with Kang et al. (2012) and Donoghue (2010) finding that leisure travellers are

not willing to pay extra for a hotel with ‘green’ credentials. Although the costs of staying in hotels are generally paid by business travellers’ employers, I found that there were generally corporate rules in place which left business travellers with a reduced agency to spend corporate money. It could be argued, then, that these two constraints, together with the absence of facilities that support alternative practices, and the friction this adds, stop business travellers from carrying out ERP.

7.2 Constraints at home and when away

The four constraints to carrying out ERP when booking a trip and during travels were often perceived as constraints because they (partially) differed from business travellers’ home situation. In other words, interviewed business travellers would compare the availability of facilities, time and money when travelling with their availability when at home, and conclude that during travels the availability of these three was often more restricted. This meant that travellers generally carried out more pro-environmental practices when at home, as compared to when travelling (as discussed in Chapter 6). This, however, does not mean that the constraints that inhibited ERP when away were not present when at home. For most travellers, and in both situations, decisions on carrying out ERP seemed, at least partially, based on ‘convenience’, which one traveller explained as follows:

“I think there’s shades of grey right. You pick and choose the things that you want to do to help the environment right, you need to pick and choose. [...] We need to live our lives and be productive citizens in this global economy, so you can choose the things that you feel make sense to you and that can help the environment, and in cases where it might not make any sense, for whatever reason, then you don’t do that. Like, we could buy a hybrid if we wanted to or if we were really strong on the environment, but you know, that’s something we choose not to do because I am a car-nut. What I mean, it’s choice and it needs to match your lifestyle as well.” (ID23)

This traveller argues that he makes changes that “make sense” and fit within his lifestyle. As this lifestyle contains practices which result from his interest in (fast) cars, he has decided not to make a change which he perceives as impacting his lifestyle. Switching to an energy-efficient car, which might be less environmentally damaging, but was expected by the interviewee to have a lower performance than his current car, would change his current lifestyle beyond the point he perceived as reasonable. Which practice to change and which

to maintain is not a choice solely based on the impact such changes would have on a traveller's lifestyle. A different interviewee explained:

"My dad [used to say] 'turn the lights off', you know. It's because of the cost and he has to pay the bills, you know, that's the driving force. The positive behind that is it saves the environment of course, but I think you have to make these things have [a] personal impact. The question all of us ask first of all is 'what's the benefit to me, and if there's no benefit to me, why are you asking me to do it, what's the incentive for me to do it'." (ID 27)

According to this traveller, decision-making around lifestyle changes are primarily based on the (economic) benefits these changes can bring to the individual. While this view is possibly too utilitarian for some of the other business travellers, Barnett et al. (2011: 134) also found that "the demands made on ordinary people and their everyday consumption habits can be too overwhelming", even for more altruistically inclined consumers. Indeed, interviewed business travellers talked about making "*concessions*" (ID 35) and their choices being a process of "*consensus*" (ID 45). One traveller (ID 26) said she was "*probably a bit of a hypocrite*", because she "*embrace[d] parts of sustainability that are convenient*." Travellers seemed to understand implicitly that they lived in an individualistic and risk-based society (Beck, 1992b; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim, 2001), where they had the agency to make choices, where they were responsible for their choices, and where they were increasingly encouraged via a number of media to base their decisions on 'ethical' factors. The problem with this, however, was that the personal benefits of their choices did not exist, were not always clear, or were not instantaneous. This resulted in business travellers seemingly basing certain decisions on 'ethicality' and morality, while other decisions were based on factors like price, functionality, or brand – and generally on a combination of these (see Chapter 2).

As Devinney et al. (2010: 112) have pointed out, "when people are forced to make realistic choices involving substantial trade-offs", they are generally found to be "at one and the same time socially responsive and socially blind". This means that individuals can, for example, recycle their waste and attempt to save energy in their home environment, while at the same time extensively using their car on a daily basis to go to work. Individuals often carry out certain environmentally damaging practices, while simultaneously attempting to be environmentally friendly in other practices (Spaargaren, 2003). Brand and Reusswig (2006: 90) refer to a lifestyle based on such – often contrasting – decisions as a

“heterogeneous patchwork”. They point out that individuals can be environmentally sensitive with their decisions for one practice, while completely indifferent in another. Giddens (1991a) has provided a possible explanation for such differences in practices, by explaining that individuals’ lifestyles are made up of ‘sectors’. This means that individuals can carry out environmentally friendly practices in one sector, while carrying out environmentally damaging practices in another. The ‘home’ environment, then, could be understood as one sector and the ‘away’ environments as another sector. This explains how individuals can undertake pro-environmental practices like recycling in their home environment, but not when they are away on a business trip (see ID 50 in previous chapter). The differences in the uptake of particular practices between lifestyle sectors were often related to the constraints available in the respective sectors. On deciding which ‘ethical’ or ‘environmental’ practices to undertake and which not, the constraints discussed earlier in this chapter were important determinants in both home and away situations, although these constraints had different influences in the different ‘sectors’.

7.3 The influence of ‘home’ and ‘away’ structures on practices

7.3.1 Easy versus hard practices

The existence, or absence, of constraints in both the home sector and the away sector, led interviewed business travellers to make a distinction between ‘easy’ or ‘simple’ and ‘larger’ or ‘harder’ changes. In Chapter 6, reference was already made to this distinction, when a traveller was quoted as saying that *“when it comes to simple stuff like the waste [...] we do all that stuff [...], but when it comes to [travelling], you just get on a plane without thinking”* (ID 30). The same traveller further discussed the distinction between ‘easy’ and ‘harder’ changes by saying:

“I think, to be honest, if you take somebody who has a car and drives it every day, I haven’t seen folks say ‘ooh, I’m going to drive less, because of the environment’. Typically you’ve got the folks that do the whole waste thing, and I’m really conscious about that stuff, but to be honest, has anybody really cut down on using their car? Even with oil prices going through the roof, everybody is complaining about that, but I’ve never heard anybody in my social network say ‘oil prices are really high, let’s cut down on...’ Nobody does that, everybody just keeps driving around like idiots.” (ID 30)

The traveller, when commenting on his home practices, makes a distinction between pro-environmental practices that people in his social circle – which probably includes himself – *do* undertake, like the “*waste thing*”, and practices which people are unwilling to change, like driving a car. This indicates that changing practices of waste disposal are ‘easy’, or ‘easier’ than changes to the amount one drives in his or her car, which the interviewee views as a ‘harder’ change. The difference between easy and hard changes seems significantly influenced by structures which can enable or inhibit individuals from undertaking certain practices. Societal, marketplace and corporate structures have a considerable effect on the practices that are carried out by business travellers when at home and when away, since these structures can enable certain practices while forming constraints for alternatives. Since different structures are present in the home sector and away sector, the ‘easiness’ of carrying out particular practices can differ between these sectors, as I will explain further below.

7.3.2 Inhibiting structures in ‘away’ environments

In the previous chapter, I discussed how the strain of travelling – an expectation from employers – and structures in hotels had an effect on business travellers’ ERP. Here I will extend this to the current discussion of the difference between ‘home’ and ‘away’ practices, and argue that ‘away’ structures have a larger inhibiting effect on the execution of pro-environmental practices than ‘home’ structures. I will argue that in away situations it is harder to make easy or small changes, and even harder to make larger ones. The origins of this could be found in a number of factors which, again, closely relate to the constraints discussed above. One of the main factors is explained as follows by a Spanish traveller:

“Within Europe [my stays are] typically 2 days. I mean, I spent some time in Budapest last week, so that was 2 days. Italy, Milano 2 days, Rome 2 days, Madrid 2 days. Even London is like a 2 day thing. I’ve done shorter trips, the one day thing, for example Dusseldorf or Cologne, but that’s only if there is a specific thing that I want to do that day. You can do the early [flight] in, and the late flight out, but to be honest, physically to do that is a nightmare. I used to do that, visit a country every day, and then flying back home, but physically that really takes its toll, so typically now I do the overnight stay.” (ID 30)

The limited time spent at any location is a distinct difference with home. Not only does it constitute a major strain to travellers’ physical and psychological health, it also means that travellers have limited time to consider their *in situ* practices and work out different alternatives. These hypermobile business travellers will generally not be willing to carry out

any actions that add time and friction. In comparison, even the most hardened travellers will likely be spending more time at home than at any away location. This means that they have more time to consider their practices at home, more opportunities to understand the structures and develop practices, and a better chance to notice the (positive) impact of their changes in their practices.

Time, then, is one factor that makes it potentially easier for business travellers to change their practices at home. Due to time pressures when away, a practice like recycling, which was referred to as a small change (ID 30), would be easier to carry out at home than when away. The limited time, coupled with a lack of facilities and information on CSR practices in hotels (see Chapter 5), also meant that business travellers often had a limited understanding of the structures that were present. In contrast to home, travellers generally spent only short periods of time in unknown environments when away. This meant that they often had insufficient information regarding available alternatives to consider changing their practices.

Finally, many travellers were inhibited by their access to funds. Many were restricted in their actions to budgetary and corporate structures, while at home they would be able to decide more freely what to spend money on. Especially for harder changes, which might include a significant investment (like buying and driving hybrid cars, as done by ID 31), this provided business travellers with more agency to spend their money on pro-environmental practices at home.

7.3.3 The willingness to change practices

Next to the practical differences between home and away situations, it could be argued that there was a greater *willingness* to change current practices and carry out pro-environmental practices when at home. This willingness is surely impacted by these practical differences, but there was also a sense that business travellers felt more responsible when at home, as the following quote illustrates:

“I can make a difference around my own house and control the food I eat and the food chains and things I contribute to. One of the other things that is a little bit more timely in our lives right now, [my wife] is pregnant, so we use as much organic products as we can, we’re extra conscious of those things, which is mostly focused towards the baby’s health, but it’s also, I think anyway, typically a whole lot better for the environment.” (ID 48)

This traveller seems to feel responsible for his family's wellbeing, and believes that this will be enhanced by consuming organic food, instead of processed and chemically treated foods. The influence of others, and particularly family members, on 'ethical' behaviour has been well documented (Barnett et al., 2005; Sayer, 2003). This feeling of responsibility towards others, at least in part, influenced the interviewed travellers' willingness to reflect and re-consider their current practices. Many travellers said to be more willing to re-consider current practices and change practices in their home environment rather than when away. For example, while some travellers said to have changed their travelling practices at home by substituting the car for public transport to get to work (ID 30) or by buying a hybrid car (ID 31), none of the interviewed travellers said they had changed their travel practices at the travel destination, with taxis the most popular mode of transportation with all travellers. Below I will explain how differences in answers from interviewed business travellers indicated that travellers were particularly aware that they reflected more on their actions and practices when in their home environment.

7.4 Justifying current practices

When travellers were asked about their current practices, those that had said that they cared about their environmental impact would often become defensive about their current lifestyles and the way many of their decisions were based on the convenience of carrying out practices and making changes to practices. As I will argue here, however, for environmentally damaging decisions and practices, justifications were given only when discussing practices in the home situation. This means that none of the 34 travellers attempted (or felt the need) to justify the environmentally damaging practices they carried out during their travels. Travellers seemed aware that they had more opportunities to carry out ERP at home, or that there were greater pressures through public opinion, or in their social circles, to carry out pro-environmental practices in their home environment. This became apparent in discussions of the practices they carried out at home and how they reflected on these practices. As mentioned above, one traveller (ID 26) said: *"I'm probably a bit of a hypocrite, in that I probably embrace parts of sustainability that are convenient with my life"*, although she did continue by saying that she felt that was *"nothing unique"*. Another traveller said the following:

"The downside is that, if you can recycle something, people – and myself perhaps – would be more prone to buying it more, and then probably throwing

it away. For example, with organic waste, I used to be very upset to throw away food, I was brought up this way. Since organic waste recycling has started, and I will do it, I surprisingly find myself being a lot less upset about throwing away waste food, and that's not a good thing. That's a downside of recycling, it's the wrong frame of mind to have, you know. I guess I need to have a chat with myself on that." (ID 31)

There are two interesting observations to be made from this quote. Firstly, the traveller is clearly critical about his behaviour. He says he needs to 'have a chat with himself' about the amount of food he throws away, since this has become a lot more since he started recycling his food waste. This links to the second observation that can be made from this quote. By implementing and carrying out a new ERP (food waste recycling), this traveller says he has become less aware of reducing food waste, which is a linked but separate ERP. This is similar to findings by Catlin and Wang (2013), who found that providing recycling facilities actually leads to individuals producing more waste. Furthermore, Thøgersen (1999) has undertaken research into the effect of ERP on the uptake of other practices, and the potential for ERP to spill-over from one lifestyle sector to another. He found that recycling household waste had a positive influence on the packaging consumers bought in the first place, but it also reduced feelings of obligation towards other changes to ERP. This seems to imply that pro-environmental practices can be used by individuals as a 'convenient excuse' to continue other, environmentally damaging practices (Becken, 2007; Maniates, 2009; Prillwitz & Barr, 2011; Thøgersen, 1999). Mazar et al. (2008) even found that people behave morally enough to keep a positive self-view, but amoral and dishonest in certain situation to profit from quick gains. In relation to ethical consumption, similar findings showed that people who bought ethical products would be more likely to cheat and steal in other situations (Mazar & Zhong, 2010). The 'compensatory' attribute of ERP is also illustrated in the following quote from an interview with a couple:

ID23: *"I think everyone should do their part."*

ID24: *"But to a small, small extent. You know what I mean? We're still going to travel for pleasure, right. We're not going to extremely change our lives."*

ID23: *"But we carpool, so it's okay."*

ID24: *"Our car is good on gas as well."*

ID23: *"Yeah, our car is good on gas."*

This married couple, both business travellers and insisting on being interviewed together, justified their flying practices by saying that they ‘compensate’ for the environmental impact attached to flying through their driving practices, which involved ‘carpooling’ and an efficient car. These travellers indicate that they are not willing to give up travelling for pleasure, and justify this stance by saying that they compensate the environmentally damaging practice of flying by carrying out pro-environmental practices in other lifestyle sectors. According to Maniates (2009), it is common for individuals to perceive pro-environmental practices as compensatory for environmentally damaging practices. He is concerned, however, that most individuals’ compensatory behaviour comes in the shape of consumption. Maniates argues that individuals from the global ‘North’ care about their environmental and social impact, but when attempting to alleviate this impact only consider their consumption patterns. Individuals do not, so he states, seek to reduce the impact by making considerable cut-backs on consumption, but instead by consuming *more responsible* products while ignoring the call for reducing consumption overall. While Maniates critiques this approach, what is important for this thesis is the notion that many business travellers reported undertaking compensatory practices at home, and used them to justify other environmentally damaging practices.

These attempts to justify the carrying out of environmentally damaging practices are in contrast to business travellers’ descriptions of damaging practices when away on business. Business travellers were found to make no attempts to justify their current practices by being critical about their actions or discussing compensatory elements, as was done for home practices. Practices were taken as given. The following quote explains how one traveller made a choice between two alternative actions, of which one is perceived as more environmentally damaging than the other:

“If I’m working and I arrive at an airport at 6 [am], I got two ways of going from the airport, one is by public transport usually, and the other one is by taxi, but 6 o’clock I would jump in the taxi. I wouldn’t hesitate, because I’m there to do my job. [...] It’s not an environmental decision, over and above the others, it’s a business decision first, that’s what it’s about. We’re there, we have a role, you know.” (ID 27)

This quote shows that the traveller did not consider his environmental impact, because decisions are based on his employer’s expectations of productivity. This view was echoed in some form in every single interview, with all travellers stating that their decisions were

based on business needs rather than their ethical or environmental values, beliefs and attitudes. What is even more interesting is that this quote shows how the traveller was not critical about his undertaken practice, or considered how he could change this in the future. It is not that the traveller neglected to justify his behaviour, he simply justified his practice by saying it is a necessity for his job. Unlike a traveller (ID 26) who was willing to “*inconvenience*” herself in certain decisions at home, this was not an option which most travellers considered feasible when away. As one traveller noted:

“When you travel it’s an inconvenience to begin with, so you try and do everything you can to have a lifestyle of convenience when you go.” (ID 48)

This shows how in a stressful situation, this traveller attempts to have a “*lifestyle of convenience*” to reduce ‘friction’. Another traveller (ID 25) similarly argued that decisions about selecting a hotel were “*really about reducing cost and increasing convenience. So it has nothing to do with specifically, like, environmentally friendliness.*” This indicates that ERP are seen to possibly reduce the convenience to travellers (more on this in the next chapter). It also shows how business requirements reportedly determine the practices carried out by travellers, and that travellers perceived that these business requirements are so paramount that they did not need any justification. In other words, this means that business travellers seemed to think that their practices needed no justification beyond the notion that they were based on business requirements, which meant that the economic rationale trumped the environmental rationale without challenge. In the remainder of this chapter I will discuss how the prime importance assigned to business requirements functioned as a constraint to changing business travellers’ practices when away from home.

7.5 Being part of the business travel community

7.5.1 Understanding the business travel community

As the business traveller (ID 27) who did not ‘hesitate to jump in a taxi’ said: “*I’m there to do my job*”. For the interviewed business travellers, their trips had understandably only one function: to do their job and to comply with the expectations of their employer who had sent them on the trip. This attitude to their travels meant that most *in situ* practices that were carried out by business travellers were based on ‘business requirements’. With this term, however, I do not only refer to the requirements set by business travellers’ employers, but also to more normative values and expectations of business travellers’ behaviour. These normative values are part of what I will call the ‘business travel community’. Many of the

community practices are closely related to the expectations set by business travellers' employers⁴⁵, but I will argue that the values inherent to the business travel community go beyond the expectations of employers.

The community is formed of business travellers who conform to a set of values and structures which have been long established and which guide them in their practices. I refer to it as a community, rather than a set of values, because the behaviour of business travellers has a lot in common with classic group behaviour, with Hogg (1992: 3) describing features of group behaviour like "ethnocentrism, ingroup bias, intergroup competition and discrimination, stereotyping, prejudice, uniformity, ingroup cohesion, conformity, and so forth." However, since the terms 'group' and 'group behaviour' imply that individuals undertake collective actions towards a specific, common end-goal (Oliver, 1996), I will rather refer to business travellers as part of a business travel community. The empirical findings show that there are two aspects to the business travel community, namely a 'real' community and an 'imagined' community. The 'real' community can be understood as a group of travellers from the same company which travel together. Contrastingly, the 'imagined' community is made up of all people who travel for work and it is, therefore, a global community.

Because the 'real' community is the specific group of colleagues the business travellers travel with, it is often interwoven with the corporate culture. The difference in behaviour between travellers who travel alone and those who travel in a group becomes clear from the following quotes:

"Usually when you go on these trips, I mean, you have a few drinks at night, because again that's part of the travel culture. You're going to meet up at the hotel bar and have a few drinks at night, and then you go to bed." (ID 35)

This traveller refers to a travelling 'culture', which places the expectation of going for a drink with colleagues at the end of the day on individual travellers. This is in contrast to another traveller, who said the following:

⁴⁵ I discuss employer expectations extensively in Chapter 8.

I would arrive into work at 8[am], and I would be done with my day around 5.30, 6 o'clock. I would go up to my hotel room, [...] and I would hop on to calls for meetings.” (ID 23)

One of the main differences between these two travellers is that the first traveller (ID 35) was travelling with a group of colleagues, whereas the second (ID 23) was travelling alone. The first traveller (ID 35) seemingly had a strong perception of being part of a specific, ‘real’ business travel community, because his colleagues and the company’s ‘culture’ influenced his behaviour. In Chapter 3 a corporate culture was defined as “a set of solutions produced by a group of people as they interact about the situations they face in common. These solutions become institutionalized, remembered, and passed on as the rules, rituals, and values of the group” (Vaughan, 1998: 37). As the quote illustrates, a corporate ritual influenced what he did in the evenings. By noting that having a drink is part of the ‘travel culture’, rather than the culture just amongst his colleagues, there is, however, also the sense that he felt that this was a widespread practice throughout the ‘imagined’ business travel community.

In contrast to the ‘real’ community, business travellers were seemingly also influenced in their practices by an ‘imagined’ community. The imagined community exists for travellers who travel in groups, but also for travellers who travel alone. For many, the business travel community is an imagined community, because there is no clear engagement with other members, and it is not connected to a specific geographical location. As Fischer et al. (1996) point out, though, for a community to exist there is no need for social relationships. Individuals can instead be united by a common bond, which could be an understanding of the stressful lifestyle business travellers have and the common pursuit of ‘friction’ avoidance as a result of that. Anderson (2006) argues that any community larger than a small village is an imagined community, because while members of the community considering the bond between them real, their social relationships are generally imagined. This is how the ‘imagined’ business travel community should be understood; there are no gatherings, no meet-ups, and no membership cards. Instead, the ‘imagined’ business travel community has an influence on travellers through a shared understanding of a traveller’s lifestyle, and the expectations, values, rules, perks and disadvantages that come with it, such as having to wear a suit, learning how to travel ‘light’, and making sure to collect loyalty points whenever possible. In the next sections I will explain how the values and rules of the ‘imagined’ and ‘real’ business travel community influenced travellers’ behaviour in the

shape of ‘performances’, and how the ‘real’ and ‘imagined’ business travel community influenced their uptake of ERP.

7.5.2 *Performing the business traveller’s role*

To be a part of the business travel community, and to be perceived as a member by outsiders, travellers would ‘perform’ (Goffman, 1959). Performances are staged to give observers an impression of the performer, and involve “an individual play[ing] a part” (1959: 28). Goffman quotes Park (1950: 249), who argues that “everyone is always and everywhere, more or less consciously, playing a role. ... It is in these roles that we know each other; it is in these roles that we know ourselves.” I will refer to the performances of business travellers as their ‘*professional*’ role⁴⁶. While the characteristics of professional performances were exhibited differently, and each performer would bring their own biography and personality characteristics to the role (Giddens, 1987), widespread commonalities were displayed. Travellers would often wear ‘appropriate’ clothing, which generally meant more formal outfits like a suit, and they would have a polite and knowledgeable demeanour. They would show others that they were busy, and used Blackberry phones and iPhones, tablets and laptops as props in their performances.

‘Props’, or accessories, like phones and laptops were part of a traveller’s ‘personal front’ (Goffman, 1959), which is an important aspect of any performance and includes a range of intimate items utilised by the performer. Goffman (1963: 25) describes the ‘personal front’ as “the complex of clothing, make-up, hairdo, and other surface decorations.” When one sees a person in a business suit on a plane or in a hotel, it is generally assumed that this person is a business traveller. After all, a suit is generally not regarded as comfortable clothing that is worn when travelling for leisure purposes. Tokens like loyalty cards further helped travellers’ performances, not only towards people that were not part of the business travel community, but also towards other performing travellers. Indeed, ‘props’ like loyalty cards were not only used to perform as a busy, well-travelled individual, but also for more playful elements of performances. A good illustration of this side of performances is given by a male Canadian business traveller:

“I was laughing when I saw [Up In The Air], you know that scene where they’re actually going through their loyalty cards, and seeing like who’s got the better ones, it’s funny because I’ve actually done that, like I’ve sat in a bar and

⁴⁶ The term ‘performances of professionalism’ was first coined by Dr Dorothea Kleine, when we jointly reviewed the data. The term is further discussed in the next chapter.

talked to someone and was like ‘hey look, I’ve got this platinum whatever with this’, ‘ooh what do you get with that?’, ‘ooh, this concierge service, and you get these points’.” (ID 35)

The male traveller is referring to the 2009 Hollywood movie *Up In The Air*, which follows Ryan Bingham (played by George Clooney) and his life which involves extensive travel across the USA. During one scene George Clooney’s character is discussing different loyalty cards and concierge keys with another regular traveller. While this movie is fictitious, according to the interviewed business traveller this scene is close to his reality. As these cards, with which the traveller is ‘playing trumps’, are acquired after a certain amount of hotel visits or miles travelled, they are ‘proof’ that the performer is a hardened traveller. It shows a form of competitiveness and ‘bragging’ towards other travellers about the amount of travelling undertaken. They are a show of resilience, and a show of status, since his employer pays for him to travel to meetings around the world and give his input. They are also a show of ‘machismo’, of being a seasoned traveller who can cope with the itinerant lifestyle. Considering the historical monopoly of men in business travel, Harris and Ateljevic (2003: 25) found that “it is not surprising (...) that the male gaze of business travel still prevails, as an almost uniform description of a male, white, professional, aged mid 30-40s as the typical business traveller.” While the amount of female business travellers is growing (Harris & Wilson, 2007), the business travel community is still a largely masculine community, where status and ‘machismo’ are important aspects of performances.

7.5.3 Hierarchy and status in the business travel community

Accessories like loyalty cards were not only an important part of a traveller’s ‘personal front’ (Goffman, 1959), they also helped to show that the traveller was part of a group of elite, cosmopolitan travellers and a member of the business travel community. Showing others that they were part of the travelling community seemed important to business travellers, particularly to those that had extensive experiences of travelling. Performing behaviours of professionalism was important to show outsiders and other insiders that the performer was part of the business travel community. As one traveller explained:

“You know the status you go through with Marriott: Silver, Gold, Platinum, Platinum Elite, okay. So when you get to a certain status you get Platinum Elite, and that means you’ve stayed in a Marriott hotel for 75 nights in that year. You then get role-over nights, so my role-over nights mean I only have to stay for 5 nights a year and I retain Platinum, I’ve got role-over nights, role-over nights.

Now, one thing that I [expect], and I suppose it's a bit of blasé, is that when I go to a Marriott, I expect to be treated as a Platinum customer. And I'm not saying that the guy off the street who just spends a week in a hotel, or is on business and has never stopped in a Marriott before and is new to Marriott... I won't expect him not to get the same as what I get. It's just the fact that I sometimes feel that I should get it. [...] When I go to sign in, I give them my platinum card, I don't necessarily have to do, but I just make sure that they see that I'm a Platinum customer. Thailand was a typical incident, I went to the J.W. Marriott, fabulous hotel, checked in, didn't even have to show my card, [they said] 'ooh, we've upgraded you because you are a Platinum Elite customer, you're on the 19th floor, the exec floor is on the 16th, but we'll give you this lovely room'. It was a double room, fantastic, little kitchen, two rooms, brilliant. All because I am a Platinum Elite customer. So, I sometimes think I have an expectation when I get to the hotels that they know I'm a Platinum customer and I get the rewards for staying in hotels as long as I do." (ID 32)

This quote shows how this traveller felt it was important to show to outsiders that he belonged to the business travel community, and more than that, within the community that he had 'elite status'. He expected hotel staff to recognise his 'achievement' and to get acknowledged for his status as an experienced traveller. Another traveller (ID 35) argued in a similar fashion that *"if you go to a hotel every single week, it's nice that you feel like it's your home, and because it feels like your home, it feels like you should get something a little different, something maybe more than if you were just there for a night."* These two quotes show that these two travellers felt a sense of entitlement that hotels should recognise their status as elite members of the business travel community, and therefore should provide them with preferential treatment over occasional guests. Other interviewees also said that status was important within the business travel community, particularly according to a traveller (ID 50) who discussed the 'real' business travel community which consisted of his colleagues. The level of seniority in his company transferred into the travel community. He explained: *"the senior people can stay in a nicer hotel and you know, if you're going out with architects and engineers, if they want to [pay for] the evening's drinks than they will, whereas people more junior probably wouldn't do that."* The business travel community, then, can be understood as a global community which consists of certain rules, norms, values, expectations, and performances. To many business travellers, however, this community is predominantly present as the 'real' community consisting of their same-firm travel party. Within both the global community and the 'real' aspect of it, status takes an

important place. While status in the global business travel community seems to be determined by the amount of travel one undertakes, within the company specific community, status is stratified based on the hierarchy that is in place in the company.

7.5.4 The influence of the business travel community on ERP

I would argue that being part of the business travel community had an influence on the practices of the travellers that felt part of this community, although some travellers exhibited this more clearly than others and this was again influenced by travellers' perception of the community. For example, the influence on practices was evident in cases where members from the 'real' community influenced the practices of individual travellers. I asked a regular traveller (ID 35) why he always stayed at Marriott hotels, to which he answered as follows: *"Honestly? Everybody [in my company] was either Hilton or Marriott and the first hotel I stayed at for work was a Marriott, and I signed up for the loyalty plan and never switched."* This shows how fellow travellers in the company influenced the behaviour of this traveller. Because his office colleagues all stayed in one of two well-known hotel brands, this traveller took the same route and decided to sign up for the loyalty scheme with Marriott hotels. Another example was given by another traveller, who said:

"I think also it's different when you're travelling on your own to when you're travelling with a team, because when you're travelling with a team, there's peer pressure to take the car, and things like that. Usually it falls down to whoever is in charge of the team to decide how everything is going to pan out. Just for the sake of harmony, when you're stuck in a foreign country and this is all the company you've got, you just kind of shrug it off and get on with it, but when you're on your own, obviously there's more opportunities to [carry out pro-environmental practices]. When I travel on my own I probably eat in different places to when I'm travelling with a team, I walk as much as I possibly can to places, you know." (ID 53)

This traveller, who said he travelled only twice or three times per year, perceived the business travel community as his colleagues with whom he travelled. Since all his experiences of travelling were with colleagues, this was his perception of the business travel community. The quote shows how his behaviour is influenced by other members in the 'real' community he is part of. This traveller argued that a team member who *"is in charge of the team"* makes decisions he has to conform with, even if he would behave differently if he was alone. These two examples show how fellow community members, who are more

senior or are believed to have more knowledge or experience, can have an influence on individual business travellers when they are at their destination. In the case of the selection of a hotel this seems to have little impact on the traveller's uptake of ERP, but in the second case his *in situ* practice was altered in such a way that it could be argued that being part of a community was constraining the uptake of the pro-environmental practice of walking.

Next to fellow members from the 'real' community having an impact on individuals' practices, the mere understanding that one is part of an 'imagined' community was found to influence practices, as the following quote from a regular traveller illustrates:

"I can recycle, I mean we've got 4 different boxes at home, one's for plastic, one's for paper, one's for metal, and then we've got biodegradable stuff like compost, and then we've got the garbage, whatever is left just goes in there. And you go through a lot of trouble for that. [...] For flights I don't..., I mean I know and I understand that planes can produce a lot of pollutants, but I think that we're one person out of 300, 400 people on a plane, it somehow makes you not feel as bad, because you think 'well, this plane is going anyway'. I don't feel like I'm doing something bad for the environment. And I don't know, maybe that's way worse than not recycling, you know, but it feels less personal, you get the anomaly of being a part of a crowd, so it's easier." (ID 35)

This quote does not necessarily show that this traveller feels part of a business travel community, but it does very clearly show how being part of a group, or being only one person undertaking an action that many others similarly do, lessens the feeling of responsibility for one's own behaviour. What is particularly interesting here is that this highly experienced traveller – and similarly most other experienced travellers – seemed to have a lot of knowledge about the state of air travel and its effects on the natural environment. Another traveller, for example, said:

"We are getting to the stage throughout the world where people are on the move, and one wonders quite often – the old wartime slogan – is your journey really necessary? We have people now on the roads, we have people on the seas, we have people in the air in particular. Particularly in the emerging nations the growth is just... I've seen it with my own eyes, it's absolutely astronomic, and I actually find it quite frightening. [...] No matter what time,

day or night, the skies are full. So people are on the move and that does frighten me a bit, where is it going to end.” (ID 41)

This traveller is ‘frightened’ by the amount people are travelling nowadays, and the impact this has on the environment, but he also said later in the interview that his knowledge had not changed his personal flying practices. The high amount of people travelling, then, does not work as a deterrent, but instead seems to support travellers in continuing flying since a change in their flying practice would have little impact.

Being part of an ‘imagined’ community of regular flyers, and regularly seeing the amount of people that travel by air, seemingly makes these travellers feel less responsible for the environmentally damaging effects of their personal air travel. Since the travelling community is large and ever growing, many travellers had a lessened sense of responsibility for the environmentally damaging effects of their practices. Similarly, being introduced to the business travel community – in which travellers often live lifestyles of staying in luxury hotels, eating in restaurants, taking taxis between the hotel, the airport and meetings – would generally mean that these practices were largely copied without consideration. These practices were part of the performances which helped travellers to ‘fit in’ in the ‘real’ and ‘imagined’ business travel community, and which diminished the sense of responsibility for their actions since they were performed by almost all members of the business travel community.

This means that being part of a business travel community can inhibit business travellers’ reflections of their practices and their environmental impact. This is similar to findings in the ethical consumption literature and environmental behaviour literature, with studies showing that individuals think that their behaviour change will not matter, because there are many others who will continue the original behaviour (Carrington et al., 2010; Devinney et al., 2010; Lorenzoni, Nicholson-Cole, & Whitmarsh, 2007; Stoll-Kleemann et al., 2001).

While being only one traveller in a worldwide community can be understood as a constraint to changing individual traveller’s practices, it might be too easy to assume that *travellers themselves* perceive their membership of a group as a constraint to undertaking ERP. Instead, I will argue in the following section that being part of the ‘imagined’ business travel community could potentially help travellers to continue with environmentally damaging practices. This means that I argue that being part of a group is indeed a constraint to

changing individuals' practices, but also that some of the interviewed travellers did not necessarily see this constraint as unwanted.

7.5.5 The 'convenience' of community membership

Being part of a 'real' or 'imagined' business travel community does not only inhibit certain practices, it also provides travellers with the ability to carry out many of their day-to-day activities in a routinized manner, because they are and have been carried out by other members and are, therefore, deeply embedded in the community's structures (Barnett et al., 2005; Giddens, 1984). In their home environment, travellers were found to base certain decisions on the environmental impact of alternatives. In contrast, the majority of travellers said that decision-making during travels was only rarely based on the environmental impact of alternatives. From the interviews it emerged that the strain of travelling and the desire to reduce friction made travellers carry out practices which were comfortably embedded in existing structures, but which might not be environmentally beneficial. As I will argue here, however, for those travellers who felt a strong connection to the 'imagined' business travel community, their membership seemed to be one reason to stop considering their behaviour, stop considering the existence and shape of current structures like employees' expectations of flying, taking taxis, drinking in hotel bars and/or eating out in restaurants, and resulted in travellers 'falling' into their performance of the expected role as a business traveller.

It could be argued that most interviewed travellers did not *want* the individual agency to make choices and decisions when they were travelling. The process of travelling should be understood as an extensive set of consumption practices. As first introduced in Chapter 2, Warde (2005: 137) defines consumption "as a process whereby agents engage in appropriation and appreciation, whether for utilitarian, expressive or contemplative purposes, of goods, services, performances, information or ambience, whether purchased or not, over which the agent has some degree of discretion." In accordance with this definition, business travel consists of a large amount of consumption decisions individuals need to make. Travellers reportedly had only limited discretion over the booking of flights and hotels, but they had more discretion over the consumption of amenities in hotel rooms (including the water and electricity they used), taxis, Wi-Fi connections, room service, restaurant dinners and lunch bar services. These practices are in principle open to change, since travellers have a 'degree of discretion' to make decisions which impact their consumption patterns.

Understanding business travel as a set of consumption practices opens up avenues of discussion, such as those that are had in ethical consumption literature, which can provide an insight into the possibilities for individuals to use their consumption as a vote. As shown in Chapter 2, there have been extensive discussions in the ethical consumption literature of consumers as political actors who have the opportunity to demonstrate their political dispositions through their consumption practices (Barnett et al., 2011; Lewis & Potter, 2011; Littler, 2009; Micheletti, 2003; Shaw, Newholm, & Dickinson, 2006; Shaw & Black, 2010). It has, for example, been argued that ethical consumption allows for citizenly acts that reach further than the mere consumption of goods (Barnett, Clarke, Cloke, & Malpass, 2007), like buying Fair Trade products at a premium to support farmers in developing countries. The problem with the notion of consumers as political actors, however, is the *assumption* that ethical consumers make a conscious effort to purchase goods or services which align with their values. As Barnett et al. (2011: 36) assert, understanding consumers as conscious decision-makers “underplays the degree to which a great deal of everyday consumption is routinized, unreflective, and embedded in infrastructures of everyday life”. The large number of studies that use the Theory of Planned Behaviour (Ajzen, 1991) to explore consumers’ ethical decision-making (Birgelen, Semeijn, & Behrens, 2011; Han, Hsu, & Sheu, 2010; Sparks & Shepherd, 1992; Vermeir & Verbeke, 2008), and efforts to increase the reliability of the TPB for use in research into ethical consumption (Shaw et al., 2000; Shaw, 2005), supports the claim that there is a common assumption that consumers make conscious decisions based on attitudes and intentions. I would accept that many consumption decisions are consciously made, especially when considering the purchasing of ethical products. However, I would argue that many of the practices carried out by business travellers involved unconscious and heavily routinized forms of consumption which were embedded in the structures, including role expectations, of the ‘real’ and ‘imagined’ business travel community.

As Giddens (1984) claims, most practices carried out by people are not directly motivated, but are instead part of a routine. This was exhibited by the large majority of interviewed business travellers. Travelling was especially stressful to hypermobile travellers who were away from home most often, but at the same time these were the travellers whose behaviour was routinized and embedded into pre-existing structures. The regular travellers generally knew, for example, what to expect from their hotel stay and hotel room (especially those with loyalty cards), what they could and could not do according to their company’s travel policy, and in what situations their employers allowed them to slightly ‘bend the rules’ (ID 23). Other activities, like packing the suitcase, acquiring foreign currency or familiarizing

oneself with an unknown city, were highly routinized for regular travellers. Even though travelling was overall seen as less stressful by less regular travellers, above mentioned activities were less routinized and habitual for these travellers and often more stressful. Regular travellers, for example, discussed how they always had a suitcase and toiletry bag ready (ID 32) or how they had improved their packing practice so they now only had to take hand luggage on a trip (ID 48). In contrast, a traveller (ID 24) who, on average, would travel once a year discussed how she always forgot to take out foreign currency before travelling, and another irregular traveller (ID 52) said that trips were stressful due to the time it took to prepare.

Travellers, then, were able to cope with their busy schedules and transient lifestyles (as discussed in Chapter 6) through routinized practices. Business travellers, and especially regular travellers, used the pre-existing structures to shape their travelling lifestyles. The structures which were in place in hotels that either enabled or inhibited ERP, were used by most business travellers as a guide to reduce friction. By being part of the ‘imagined’, and potentially ‘real’, travelling community which has norms regarding expected practices, travellers were encouraged to quickly adapt to, and shape their practices around existing structures since this would reduce friction. While many travellers carried out the practice of recycling at home, without recycling facilities in many hotel rooms, this practice was often abandoned when away. Furthermore, it was common practice amongst business travellers to take taxis at the destination. Since this was the corporately approved mode of transportation at the destination, most travellers did not consider taking public transportation or walking. Through model learning, previous experience and knowledge, individuals were able to use pre-existing structures to habitually carry out such activities with little consideration or reflection. The following quote illustrates this:

“... if I have to get somewhere quick and I don’t want to have to worry about it I hop in a cab. I’ve been taking cabs for like 2 minute cab-drives before, and I was like ‘ooh man, I could have walked there really easily’ but just didn’t know...” (ID48)

As Giddens (1984) proposes, this traveller’s practical consciousness, his knowledge and experience of taking taxis, allows him to carry out the practice of taking a taxi in a routinized fashion. Contrastingly, his lack of geographical knowledge of the destination stops him from walking, because attempting to walk to meetings would add friction. However, after he has taken the taxi once, and by being reflective of the experience, he

might come to the realisation that the travelled distance was short, and now that he knows the route, he could walk to future meetings at the same location. He might decide to walk the next time – that is, if there is a next time – because walking will be the least friction-burdened option, or because he has some knowledge about the environmental damage caused by fossil fuels and greenhouse gases, and he is conscious that by changing his actions, he can help reduce this environmental damage.

This traveller understands how to take a taxi, and he can probably explain why he is taking a taxi, but he will not normally consider this every time he takes a taxi. Similarly, it can be expected that he will not consider why and how taking taxis became deeply embedded in the business travel community as the preferred mode of transport between airports, hotels and meetings. It is only when his expectations of the taxi ride are different from what he expects or from what he normally experiences – in this case the taxi ride was shorter than expected – that he may consider his actions, and might become directly motivated to walk the next time. This is not a given, however, since the traveller might as well perceive taking a taxi as part of his identity as a seasoned traveller, as a high-status individual, and as part of the ‘imagined’ business travel community. Furthermore, if the ride would have been longer, it could be expected that this traveller would not have reflected on his actions and, hence, would not have considered walking.

A similar situation was discussed by a female traveller (ID 28) who stayed at the same business hotel regularly. She discussed how the hotel would provide little cereal boxes for breakfast. At some point the hotel changed this by providing cereal in large dispensers. When she asked hotel staff where the little packages were, the staff member told her that the hotel had changed its menu to reduce the waste from packaging. She told me she “*had not thought of it that way*” before, and that she was willing to change her practice in accordance with the new structure. I would argue, then, that it is only in unexpected situations that travellers consider their practices, which are otherwise embedded in routines and habits. It is only in such moments that travellers might consider the structures which enable the different behavioural options.

This is an important issue, because by understanding the practices carried out by travellers as routinized, and by understanding that environmental concerns are often not embedded in these routines, I argue that business travellers in most practices will not *consciously* attempt to become more environmentally friendly. In most circumstances, business travellers will allow pre-existing structures to guide their practices. It is only through unusual experiences

that travellers might start considering the environmental impacts of their practices. Being part of an ‘imagined’ business travel community, and having knowledge of its structures, is something to ‘cling on’ to when travelling alone to unfamiliar places and when having to perform the role of business traveller. This also means that, in theory, business travellers would carry out more pro-environmental practices if structures would guide them to such behaviour; more on this in the next chapter. In highly individualized societies, where individuals are expected to make decisions and own up to the consequences, pre-existing structures, then, are like a guiding rail for travellers. By conforming to expectations of behaviour, which were embedded in structures, business travellers were safeguarded from having to consider their practices.

7.6 Conclusions

In the previous chapter I discussed how the strain of travelling, and consequent pursuit of a ‘frictionless’ hotel stay, meant that the uptake of ERP at the travel destination was generally low amongst business travellers. In this chapter I have attempted to further discuss the constraints that inhibit travellers from changing their *in situ* practices.

The chapter started with a distinction between constraints to stopping business travel and constraints to *in situ* ERP. The main constraint to stopping business travel was argued to be the incapability of virtual conferencing technology to substitute face-to-face contact. The shortcoming of video and phone conferencing facilities were grounded in employers’ expectations of productivity, and relying solely on virtual meetings was argued to lessen business travellers’ productivity. Constraints to changing practices at the destination were proposed to be the lack of facilities, lack of time, lack of control over funds, and added friction. Due to the strenuous schedules, business travellers were generally unwilling to spend extra time or add friction, and so felt that they could not be expected to carry out ERP. Indeed, I showed that decisions were based on the convenience of carrying out particular practices.

By comparing ‘home’ and ‘away’ practices, it was found that more changes to practices were considered and made by business travellers when they were at home. This, however, did certainly not mean that travellers undertook all possible changes at home. It was argued that distinctions were made between easy and harder, or small and larger changes. In contrast to harder changes, small changes to practices were often seen as more convenient, because they did not change the person’s lifestyle, and did not need considerable investment

of time and money. I argued that due to the *in situ* constraints mentioned above – lack of facilities, lack of time, lack of control over funds, and added friction – business travellers felt that making changes to their practices at the travel destination were harder and less convenient than when at home. For example, while some travellers said that they had changed their travelling practices at home by substituting the car for public transport to get to work (ID 30) or by buying a hybrid car (ID 31), none of the interviewed travellers said they had changed their travel practices at the travel destination, with taxis the most popular mode of transportation with all travellers.

It seemed that the interviewed business travellers were aware that it was easier for them to make changes to their practices at home, because they attempted to justify their practices in the home environment which were environmentally damaging. This was in contrast to their discussions of environmentally damaging practices when they were away. Away practices were discussed by travellers to be determined around business requirements, on which they had little influence. The final part of this chapter focused on the notion that individual travellers felt like they were part of a business travel community. In their practices they conformed to the structures which they saw present amongst community members, and which were largely shaped by business requirements. I argued that being part of this community had the effect that travellers would not consider their individual practices, because these were shaped by the structures that were integral to the community.

It can be concluded, then, that constraints like time pressure, facilities, costs and ‘friction’ were reasons for the interviewed business travellers to carry out practices in accordance with existing structures, but that the feeling of being only one individual in a worldwide system and community also stopped travellers considering why structures were shaped in the present form or how practices could be carried out in alternative ways. The absence of facilities in hotels to, for example, recycle, or the expectations from employers that travellers would work long hours in time-pressured environments were barriers to the uptake of ERP. However, as I have shown in this chapter, the entire globalized economic system on which the phenomenon of business travel is based, could itself be seen as a constraint to change. After all, the structures which are embedded in the business travel community, and which determine the practices of individual travellers, stop travellers from considering ERP, as profit-maximization becomes the dominant rationale. For constraints to be broken down, then, there should not be a sole focus on the structures that, at present, directly inhibit ERP, but also on the community culture that influences business travellers’ self-identity and behaviour. Rather than looking at individual business travellers to change their practices, it

is important to consider parties which have greater agency to change the structures that are present in the business travel community and which inhibit travellers from undertaking ERP. At the macro-level this could mean a stronger position by governments and industries to promote alternatives to flying. At the micro-level this could mean a change in approach from business travellers' employers and hotels to encourage business travellers to carry out ERP over environmentally damaging alternatives. Based on the influence of the imagined community of business travellers, seeing for example charismatic business leaders modelling greener business travel practices could be expected to have an effect. In the next chapter I will discuss how structures might be changed to encourage ERP.

8

ENABLING PRO-ENVIRONMENTAL PRACTICES: COLLECTIVE AGENCY AND STRUCTURAL CHANGE

In the final discussion chapter of this thesis, I will turn my focus away from the status quo of CSR in the hospitality industry and the uptake of ERP amongst business travellers, and instead investigate the scope for expanding the pro-environmental practices business travellers carry out. Chapter 5 focused on the status quo of CSR in a sample of London hotels, with the discussion shaped around 22 hotel managers' arguments and insights. In Chapter 6 the focus shifted to information collected from a sample of 34 business travellers, with discussions of travellers' attitudes to travelling and staying in hotels, and the uptake of ERP by the interviewed travellers. Chapter 7 discussed the constraints which inhibit business travellers from undertaking pro-environmental practices. I explained how business travellers used pre-existing structures as a 'guide' to reduce the friction of travelling, and that these structures often encouraged travellers to shape their practices without reflecting on the environmental impact. I concluded, therefore, that structures need to be changed in an effort to encourage business travellers to consider the environmental impact of their practices. In this chapter I will explore the potential for business travellers, hotel management, and employers to change structures which are currently inhibiting the uptake of pro-environmental practices.

As I already noted in the previous chapter, Giddens' (1984) theory of structuration plays an important role in exploring the potential for business travellers and hotel management to change current structures. Instead of understanding structures as purely inhibiting, this chapter discusses how there are opportunities for business travellers and hotel management to collectively change these structures, as proposed by Giddens through his concept of the 'duality of structure'. Giddens (1984) founds the concept of duality of structure on the elementary understanding that humans are knowledgeable agents who intentionally carry out routinized practices in their day-to-day life. Through reflexivity – "the monitored character of the ongoing flow of social life" (ibid: 3) – individuals are conscious about their actions, and will ensure that their practices correspond to the established flow of practices in social life. He argues that many practices do not happen once, but instead are routinized repetitions of actions. This means that practices that individuals carry out today are similar to practices they carried out yesterday and will carry out tomorrow. Through these practices,

structures are shaped and constantly reaffirmed. This, however, also means that a break from practices can result in a change of structures; this chapter is built on this premise.

To examine the scope for individual business travellers to change their practices, I will start this chapter with a discussion of corporate control and surveillance. Below I will start by discussing how travellers ‘blamed’ their employers for their current behaviour, and I will argue that the effectiveness of corporate surveillance has an impact on the influence that employers have on their business travellers’ behaviour. This means that I will first discuss how corporate rules influence behaviour in the office, where surveillance and enforcement techniques are most effective, followed by a focus on business travellers’ behaviour in hotels. The latter will show how travellers’ behaviour in hotels was influenced by corporate formal rules, resource allocations and more informal expectations, but that travellers also had more agency to make their own decisions. Goffman’s (1959; 1963) concept of ‘performances’ and his distinction between ‘front’ and ‘back’ regions helps elucidate how the behaviour of business travellers is influenced by corporate structures and the efficiency of surveillance in these distinctive areas. The discussion of behaviour in hotels is mainly based on findings from participatory observation in hotels, and additionally supplemented by interview data, which provided business travellers’ reports of their behaviour in hotels’ ‘front’ and ‘back’ regions (Goffman, 1959).

The focus on the influence of corporate structures on business travellers’ behaviour, allows me in the second half of the chapter to discuss how structures can be changed to enable pro-environmental practices. In the previous chapter I discussed how current structures are reducing the possibilities for business travellers to carry out pro-environmental practices, and how current structures increase the friction for those business travellers that are attempting to carry out pro-environmental practices. Here I will build on this discussion, by focusing on the opportunities for individual travellers to utilise their collective agency to change structures. Finally, I propose a collaborative approach, which includes business travellers, their employers and hotel management, in order to increase the potential for pro-environmental practices to be undertaken at the travel destination and in hotels.

8.1 Structures influencing behaviour in the office

8.1.1 Company control and the travel policy

The main focus of the first half of this chapter is on corporate structures (i.e. rules and resources) and surveillance, because – and this is specifically relevant for business travellers

– monitoring compliance and controlling employees' behaviour is an ever-recurring issue for corporate management. Companies establish rules, often referred to as codes (e.g. code of conduct, code of ethics) and policies (e.g. travel policy) to align employees' behaviour and decision-making with company expectations. Business codes were defined in Chapter 3 as documents “containing a set of prescriptions developed by and for a company to guide present and future behaviour on multiple issues of at least its managers and employees towards one another, the company, external stakeholders and/or society in general” (Kaptein & Schwartz, 2008: 113). These codes and policies are increasingly addressing moral and ethical issues, through specially formulated Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) or sustainability policies, or by their introduction in more established business codes like a code of conduct (Bondy et al., 2008; Erwin, 2011).

Especially in the case of ethical compliance, where employees find themselves in situations where moral decisions need to be made (e.g. taking gifts or bribes, or being involved in actions that have negative impacts on the environment), however, the implementation of a set of rules alone cannot always be expected to lead to desired behaviour. Management has generally been unable to keep *total* control over their employees. Whether it was pranks played by employees behind the backs of supervisors in Ford-style factories (Cragg, 2000), or employees in contemporary offices taking office supplies home and making personal phone calls on company phones (Jones, 1991), complete compliance seems impossible to achieve. To reduce the risk of non-compliance, and to promote desired behaviour, companies utilise surveillance techniques and sanctions. Due to the administrative support needed for these techniques and sanctions (Rule, 1973), surveillance is easiest in confined spaces, which can be shaped into “a piece of turf where the boss rules” (Sayer & Walker, 1992: 120).

Business travel takes employees outside this ‘piece of turf’, making it particularly problematic for companies to control their employees' behaviour, but the travel decision and booking process will generally take place in the ‘office environment’. It was found in the research with business travellers and their employers that this meant that there were more formal rules and stricter surveillance on business travellers in the office environment. The following traveller, who was expected to make multiple trips to the city of Virginia, USA, every year, explained how corporate control forced him to undertake these trips:

“At work I don't get to decide [and say] ‘hey, I don't want to go to Virginia for a year’, you know. It's ‘hey [...], here is the job’, you know. It's either this, or

you don't get paid anymore, and then the bank is going to take your house back.” (ID 35)

According to this interviewee, the choice he has to make is very black and white. Due to the nature of his job, he can either travel to execute his job as is expected, or decide not to travel and lose his job to someone who is willing to travel. This is an instance where corporate control is at its strongest, since the alternative to travelling is a very radical decision with an unappealing outcome⁴⁷.

There are other, less dramatic, occasions where employers similarly tend to impose corporate rules and regulations on travellers, with flight and hotel bookings a good example. Considering the interviewed travellers' hotel bookings, for example, it was found that the majority of the 32 travellers⁴⁸ interviewed about this said they could choose their own hotel, but for most travellers their agency was restricted in some way. In total 20 travellers said they had a say in choosing the hotel they would be staying in, but 13 said they had to choose their hotel from a list of company-approved hotels. For the 12 respondents that said they had no choice, the company decided in which hotel they would stay. All travellers, regardless of their degree of choice, said that costs were an important determinant for the hotel they stayed in. This did not always mean cost minimization – with some travellers arguing that their company allowed them to stay in high-end hotels because it would improve their performance – but it did mean that all travellers got assigned to, or could choose a hotel with a certain star-rating. Travellers with more freedom had to justify their choice of hotel by showing the competitiveness of the hotel's price in regard to other hotels in the same area.

To influence the booking process, then, employers generally implement regulations in the shape of a travel policy. The travel policy is especially important since travel expenditure is the second highest cost item in many service sector organisations, after salaries (Collis, 2001). Many companies implement travel policies to reduce costs of travelling (Douglas & Lubbe, 2009), with a travel policy working as a framework which explains to travellers, their supervisors and travel staff, how travel is managed in the company (Rothschild, 1988). One company representative, who said he had been tasked with “*robustly rewriting the travel policy*”, explained the importance of a clear policy:

⁴⁷ I will say more on agency and unappealing outcomes later in the chapter.

⁴⁸ Because of the limited time available when interviewing travellers at London City Airport, it was not possible to get a clear understanding of all 34 travellers' booking responsibilities.

“The [current] policy states that we’ve got to use a travel company, but what in reality happens [is that] some people either are too lazy to do that, or just do it off their own back with their own secretaries. We’re not getting any buying power if [they] do that, because if you book a single for an individual you don’t create buying power. Our travel budget is somewhere in the region of half a million pounds, so if you book that through one resource we should get benefits and paybacks from that. [...] The new policy will make it absolutely clear that anything booked outside the procedures will not be covered by the company, so it’s at their own risk.” (ID 57p)

As this company representative explained, a travel policy is a formal set of regulations which stipulates the role actors play in the booking process, and indicates how much choice individual travellers have. As he explained, part of the motivation for a unified travel policy is to be able to focus and leverage buying power. Further, a clear travel policy allows the corporation to utilize sanctions if employees decide not to conform to set regulations. Since flights and hotels are booked in the ‘office environment’, travellers’ actions can be controlled, for example, by strongly encouraging them to use a contracted travel agency which is aware of corporate regulations. This means that the travellers’ agency is reduced by corporate control, and that travellers had to follow the corporate rules or be at risk of getting no reimbursement for their travels.

8.1.2 Existence of choice and sense of choice

Even in the office, where corporate control is expected to be most effective, the restriction on the existence of choice (Alsop & Heinsohn, 2005), does not always correspond to a restriction in the sense of choice (Kleine et al., 2012) amongst business travellers. Mason (2002) has argued that many business travellers have a higher perceived freedom in making decisions about their travels than the employer would like them to have, and the following quote illustrates how loyalty schemes, rather than corporate policies, can guide business travellers’ behaviour:

ID 35: *“Everybody [at work] was either Hilton or Marriott and the first hotel I stayed at for work was a Marriott, and I signed up for the loyalty plan and never switched.”*

WG: *“So the loyalty scheme is quite important then?”*

ID 35: *“Absolutely, it’s key, it’s key. Because when work is paying for your hotel, you still get the loyalty points.”*

WG: *“Yeah, so you use them to go on holiday yourself?”*

ID 35: *“Yeah, yeah, absolutely! No, work doesn’t get those, those are mine!”*

Above traveller said he always stayed in Marriott hotels, even if it was more expensive, because he could save loyalty points which then could be used for a family holiday. He felt that because he *“consent[ed] with travelling”* (ID 35), his company should consent with possibly paying more for his stay. The traveller’s company had formal rules in place to ensure that cost was the primary decision factor when booking a hotel, but the traveller either decided himself or was allowed to base his decision on hotel brand – and hence loyalty points – instead of the price. Some scholars have argued that airline and hotel loyalty schemes weaken compliance to corporate policies, since travellers can decide to purchase more expensive flights or hotel rooms to increase their loyalty points (Campbell, 2002). However, it is also possible that in this case the traveller’s company knowingly decided not to enforce the rules to compensate for the strain of travelling (as was discussed in Chapter 6). If this was the case, then rules were established, and surveillance was possible and arguably present, but knowingly ignored by the traveller’s employer. The company representative (ID57p, see previous section) referred to this when discussing how at present his company did not sanction employees who did not book their travels through the contracted agency.

8.1.3 Companies’ environmental policies

There were travel rules, and control and surveillance mechanisms in place in all the companies of the travellers interviewed for this research, and these rules were strictly or less strictly controlled. According to the business travellers, however, none of these rules related to ERP. When asked about their company’s environmental policies, a large number of interviewees (10) mentioned recycling as an environmental measure in their company offices. Two interviewees stated their company were ISO 14001 certified⁴⁹, four had some form of electricity management in the office, two mentioned how posters were placed in the office to increase awareness amongst employees of the company’s CSR practices, and three employers reportedly asked their employees to save printer ink and paper. One employer

⁴⁹ ISO 14001 is a standard related to environmental management. The standard is published by the International Organization for Standardization, and it helps organizations to (1) comply with environmental laws and regulations, and (2) minimize negative impacts on the natural environment (ISO, 2013).

organised a sustainability awareness-day for its employees, which was described by the business traveller as follows:

“I know there is a sustainability awareness-day every year where they get a whole bunch of booths set up and people talk about it, but mostly people just go down for the free candies and whatever swag you can get out of it. But it shows that the company cares about it I guess, it’s more an image thing. It lets them be able to go to the market and say ‘hey look, we have a sustainability day, isn’t this great, we care about the future’.” (ID 33)

The traveller seems rather cynical about the reasons for his company to hold a ‘sustainability day’, as he believes that it is used as a PR tool towards the market/shareholders, and competitors, rather than an initiative to involve employees. In relation to travel, none of the 34 interviewees had changed their travel pattern because of their companies’ environmental policies, with one traveller saying the following:

“The whole idea of sustainability and environmentally friendliness, a lot of corporations will talk about it, but I don’t think it’s quite permeated through to the level of detail that would affect the individual booking, because ultimately the business wants to make money. Unless you find a way to increase whatever money is made by being environmentally friendly, I personally have some doubt as to whether it would be a primary factor in booking a business trip.” (ID 25)

What is clear from this quote is the importance placed on the notion of ‘cost and benefit’ when booking a hotel or flight. This was also stated by the company representative (ID 57p) above, and none of the 34 business travellers and four company representatives viewed the environmental performances of airlines or hotels as an important factor when booking a trip⁵⁰. In the office environment, then, corporate policies regarding business travel related generally to cost management, and neglected to ask, or order, employees to consider the environmental impact when making travel decisions.

⁵⁰ Although, as I will discuss later, there was one interviewee whose company asked him to use ‘green’ taxis (i.e. Toyota Prius taxis) at the travel destination.

8.2 Corporate structures when away from the office

In the previous section I discussed how the office environment, the ‘piece of turf’ where control and surveillance are most possible, allowed employers to implement business travel policies which could be supervised and enforced. As I will show below, in certain cases employees were given more freedom to interpret the rules as befitted them, while in other cases rules were enforced stringently. These decisions were seemingly made at the discretion of management. Corporate control and surveillance, however, become more difficult once business travellers are away from the office environment. How travellers behaved when away on a business trip was, according to the interviewees, largely down to the discretion of the travellers, with companies setting largely informal, unwritten expectations, which travellers were *trusted* to comply with (there are some exceptions which will be discussed below). It should be noted again that there were no formal or informal expectations reported from any employers relating to environmental behaviour at the travel destination. This section will for that reason initially discuss travellers’ behaviour in the broadest sense of the word, to establish the influence of corporate control and surveillance on their *in situ* behaviour.

8.2.1 Researching corporate control in the hotel

The research into business travellers’ *in situ* behaviour focused particularly on their behaviour in hotels. Hotels have a number of features which make them especially suitable places for researching the impact of corporate control and surveillance on travellers’ behaviour. Firstly, and as discussed above, employers will generally attempt to control or influence their employees’ behaviour by utilising corporate surveillance techniques, but the liminal nature of the hotel arguably limits the influence employers have on their employees’ behaviour. Hotels are ‘limbo-like’ spaces (Preston-Whyte, 2004) which, for many business travellers, function as a quasi office – a place which offers the facilities to stay connected and to have face-to-face meetings – as well as a quasi-home – a place to relax and where they have a level of privacy away from corporate control. The hotel is also physically ‘removed’ from the traveller’s home and office and, hence, gives the traveller certain freedoms from conventional responsibilities. In the liminal hotel space, travellers will find themselves in situations where corporate control might be weakened and surveillance impossible, leaving travellers with greater agency to make decisions on how to behave.

Secondly, and fundamentally, the ‘fixed’ nature of the hotel encourages travellers to engage in social interactions with hotel staff and other travellers (as I discussed in the Chapter 6).

These interactions are susceptible to societal – and occasionally corporate – rules and expectations and, hence, provide insights into the ‘performances’ (Goffman, 1959) travellers take part in. The term ‘performances of professionalism’ was introduced in the previous chapter (Chapter 7.5.2) and will be explored more below, with a particular focus on the relationship between performances and ‘front’ and ‘back’ regions.

The distinction between front and back regions is a third feature of hotels. Like many other places, hotels can be divided into two distinctive regions, which have a specific influence on the behaviour of travellers. As was discussed in Chapter 2, Goffman (1959) makes a distinction between ‘front’ and ‘back’ regions, whereby front regions are spaces where performances are staged for observers. These places are in contrast to ‘back regions’, which are places where the performer believes that he or she is not observed by an audience (Goffman, 1959). While this does not necessarily mean that performers ‘drop’ their performance and show a ‘true’ self, or that a ‘true’ self even exists, the different regions do often result in a difference in behaviour (see Chapter 2). In hotels the distinction between front and back regions is particularly prevalent, since there is a clear distinction between private and public spaces (Goffman, 1963). An example of the former is the private hotel bedrooms, while the latter includes public spaces like the hotel lobby, hotel bar and the restaurant. With travellers generally inhabiting both front and back regions while staying in a hotel, the differences in behaviour between these regions give an insight into the influence of corporate rules and regulations on behaviour. Front regions like the hotel lobby and hotel bar were locations where observations took place, while reports of behaviour in back regions were acquired through the interviews with business travellers.

A fourth feature relates to the functions travellers assign to a hotel, with behaviour not only differing between different regions in the hotel, but also within the same region. Spaces can be used by travellers as a quasi-office, but are also a quasi-home, and can possibly transform into the traveller’s holiday accommodation. These different functions have an impact on travellers’ behaviour and usage of spaces. This is illustrated by a typical traveller who uses the hotel bar as a meeting place with a colleague or client during the day, but in the evening uses the bar to relax. During the day he or she is dressed in a suit, drinks coffee, will have a professional demeanour, and ‘talks business’. In the evening the bar is a space to relax, with the traveller wearing casual attire like jeans and a t-shirt, talking about his or her personal life or hobbies while drinking a beer or cocktail. Conversation can be made with the bartender or a fellow traveller, but interestingly also with the same colleague or client who was met with earlier in the day.

8.2.2 Professionalism as a staged role

Although not all travellers conform to this characterisation, most travellers would perform a ‘professional’ role in front regions. As discussed in Chapters 5, 6 and 7, companies will generally consider the economic benefits of their operations above any other factor, and in many cases they expect their employees to similarly consider the economic benefits of their choices and decisions. This expectation has an impact on business travellers’ behaviour, which could be described as efficient, goal-driven, and time-pressured. These ‘performances of professionalism’ are not only present in the office, but were also observed towards outsiders, for example in hotel lobbies. A typical traveller would step into the hotel lobby with a fast and confident stride, which helped them illustrate that they were busy, but it also showed they were familiar with the hotel environment and had ample experience of hotel lay-outs. The performance of a busy business traveller could include a ‘show’ of discontent when the check-in process was not ‘smooth’. This discontent was portrayed in one situation, in a five-star hotel, by a traveller through a ‘show’ containing loud sighs, taking his loyalty card out of his wallet and tapping it against his empty hand, and a theatrical display of watch-checking every few seconds. The display was triggered before the business traveller came in, when a group of leisure travellers came in at the same time. There were two employees checking guests in at the front desk, but the two guests being served had the appearance of being leisure travellers as they had bulky luggage and were dressed in casual clothes. The business traveller joined the queue with three others waiting in front of him. It was obvious from his ‘show’ that he expected one of the two receptionists to solely check in loyalty card holders⁵¹. The show had the desired effect on one of the receptionists, and after she had finished dealings with the leisure guest, she told the next guest in the queue to wait as from now she would only check-in loyalty card holders. Indeed, the performing traveller, who had a loyalty card, was then checked-in instantly.

We can only speculate whether this traveller was actually busy, just put on a ‘show’ to get preferred treatment, or both. The situation described above, however, clearly illustrates how business travellers perform when busy, or stage how busy they are. Arguably, business travellers also perform how hard they work when in their down-time. Many travellers will visit the hotel bar in the evening to enjoy some time to relax and possibly read a newspaper or magazine. During my observations it was common to see travellers who came straight from their work, which took place somewhere outside the hotel, into the bar and ordered a

⁵¹ Many hotels have a special check-in desk for these travellers, as they are especially valued customers for the hotel.

beer or other alcoholic beverage. While beer was certainly the drink of preference amongst men, any alcoholic drink could help the traveller in their ‘performance’. The drink showed other individuals in the inhabited space that the traveller finished a long and hard working day and ‘deserved a drink’. For men, the fact that they were still wearing a suit (although the jacket was often taken off and the tie loosened in view of the audience) helped to show this connection between the busy working day and the ‘deserved’ evening relaxation.

How busy travellers were during their travels influenced their attitudes to the enjoyability of the trip, as was discussed in Chapter 6. The people that travellers had to interact with also had an impact on their subjective enjoyability of trips, since this would determine the form of performances they had to take part in. Crang (1994), in his work on performances by restaurant waiting staff, argues how performances need to be adapted to the situation performers find themselves in. In Crang’s case this meant that his performance was adapted to the type of guests he was serving, while for one of the interviewed travellers (ID 23) the performance was adapted to the people he was visiting. The traveller made a distinction between “*fun*” trips where he would meet colleagues – equals – and “*lame*” trips where he would meet his superiors. Different performances were needed for each situation, with ‘lame’ trips involving more professional behaviour modelled on more senior colleagues, while with ‘fun’ trips this professionalism could be relaxed. This shows how performing professionalism involved extensive learning on the part of the performer, often by watching others model the preferred behaviour, to perfect behaviour in different situations. Goffman (1959) argues that rules of particular performances need to be taught to ‘junior’ performers. Rules include expectations of behaviours in specific situations and the use of accessories⁵², like loyalty cards, a briefcase, suit, smartphone and laptop, to enhance the performance.

8.2.3 Rules, surveillance, and front and back regions

Travellers exhibited ‘professional’ behaviour when inhabiting ‘front’ regions with fellow-performers or other observers. This included dressing smartly, ‘acting’ busy, and behaving in a goal-driven and efficiency-aware way. While wearing a suit might be a formal requirement set by employers, many of the aspects of the ‘professional’ performance discussed above are informal expectations which are arguably embedded into the ‘business travel community’ (see Chapter 7). There were, however, also formal rules set by employers which formed part of travellers’ professional performances. The following quote about meal allowances illustrates one of these formalised expectations:

⁵² The use of accessories was discussed further in chapter 7.

“Generally speaking we’re not going to incur any expenses that are extraordinary, and we have a ceiling for our evening meals and for lunch, so we know ourselves that if we go above that ceiling, that cost we have to bear ourselves. Any other expenses, obviously they’re our choices, so we meet them ourselves. Generally speaking I think they expect us to be professional about it, to not exploit the system.” (ID 28)

The interviewee’s employer expects her to be “*professional*” about her decision-making, with the expectation being that she will not spend unreasonable amounts on her meals. Professionalism – as a scope of reasonable behaviours – is a corporate expectation, but can at the same time be an offering of agency and independence (or have the appearance of one as long as the traveller stays within the scope of what is reasonable). The quoted traveller can decide herself how to spend her allowance, as long as she is “*professional*” about it. This gives her a sense of agency, while the company can expect that she will not incur extraordinary expenses (and a ceiling is in place in case this does happen). The spending ceiling is furthermore used as a surveillance technique which helps guarantee compliance. In addition, surveillance essentially brings the traveller’s spending behaviour into the ‘front region’, since it opens private purchasing behaviour to external scrutiny.

There are other behaviours, however, which take place in private, back regions which cannot be scrutinised by employers. To illustrate this, I would like to extend the argument from Chapter 6 and return briefly to the traveller who argued that travelling was “*shit, stressful and work-intensive*” (ID 25). He described the negative side of living a ‘life in corridors’ (Lassen, 2006, 2009), and while the traveller exhibited the general performances of professionalism, like being goal-driven and efficient, it was also clear that these performances were not always ‘natural’ and often felt as a strain. Because it is not easy to continuously perform this professional role, the same traveller described how he behaved when entering a back region, in this case his hotel room, where performances were not needed:

“Typically I would fling my jacket in one corner, and it’s a bit childish really, but you just jump on the bed basically. You basically launch yourself across and fall on to it. So that’s one thing, and you take maybe 10 minutes, 15 minutes and that’s it. You know, relax and then start working again.” (ID 25)

This quote gives a sense of the strain of behaving professionally, with this traveller using the back region to behave “childish” – or letting himself go – before reverting back to his professional behaviour. As Urry (1991: 165) states, back regions are spaces “where people’s basic security system is restored, particularly through dissipating the tensions derived from the demands of tight bodily and gestural control in other settings of day-to-day life.” Travelling for work is a stressful activity, especially when it has to be done regularly, and this traveller reports using the privacy of the back region to unwind, because there are no observers which expect him to behave professionally. For those first 15 minutes there are no rules or expectations placed on the traveller, and no surveillance techniques able to scrutinise his behaviour. This results in his behaviour changing dramatically.

Back regions like a hotel room, however, cannot be expected to be back regions *at all times*, as they can transform into front regions at any given time. Goffman (1959) recognises that many spaces can and will be categorised as solely front regions or back regions, as McNeill (2008), for example, did in relation to hotels. McNeill states that hotels “are composed largely of extremely private spaces (bedrooms) located adjacent to very public spaces” (2008: 384), like a hotel lobby, restaurants or the hotel bar. He argues accessibility is an obvious difference between these spaces, with a room key warranting that only one (or two) individuals have access to the private space, the bedroom. Public spaces are open to anyone and, hence, will often be occupied by more than just one individual. Goffman, however, argues that many spaces can function as both front and back regions. I suggest that the hotel room of a business traveller is actually a clear example of such a ‘fluctuating’ region. The following quote explains the different functions of the hotel room for a Canadian traveller:

“Travel to Budapest is tough because my team is global, so I still have to do my North American job while I’m in Budapest. So for the last trip it was pretty bad actually. I would arrive into work at 8[am], and I would be done with my day around 5.30, 6 o’clock. I would go up to my hotel room, I would order room service right away, and I would freshen up or whatever, and then the food would arrive in 30 minutes and I would hop on to calls for meetings. So I did meetings from my hotel room while I’m eating.” (ID 23)

Travelling often involves changing time zones, and consequently corporate expectations of availability can change. This traveller had ‘local’ meetings from ‘8 to 6’, but was then expected to have virtual meetings with colleagues from the ‘home’ office, which would take place in the evening because of time differences. As the quote shows, hotel rooms are

predominantly used by travellers to relax, refresh and sleep and hence can be defined as a back region. Business travellers can, however, also use their hotel room to do work, meet colleagues, and connect with the office through technologies like video-conferencing. This blurring of back and front regions means that the hotel room is interchangeably a space where rules and surveillance are present and/or absent. While the traveller can use the space to “*freshen up*” (hotel room as back region), half an hour later he has to use the same space as an office (the part of his room which is visible and audible on video, transforms into a front region). The two functions merge when he uses the hotel room to eat (back) while having a virtual meeting (front). This, and the previous examples, also shows how the differences in regions have an impact on the behaviour of travellers, due to changes in the effectiveness of corporate control and surveillance.

8.2.4 Four ‘positions’ on the rules/surveillance spectrum

I would like to make it clear that I am not suggesting that business travellers changed their behaviour solely based on the spaces they inhabited, or the presence or absence of surveillance. The notion that individuals in front regions always play a role, and can only let this role go when in a back region, is flawed. As was pointed out in Chapter 2, Giddens (1984: 126) argues that: “the differentiation between front and back regions by no means coincides with a division between the enclosure (covering up, hiding) of aspects of the self and their disclosure (revelation, divulgence).” Giddens (1984) argues that people should not be seen as purely performers when in front regions, because that would insinuate that the front is always a facade. Especially after a tiring day, travellers could be seen to ‘loosen’ aspects of their performances in front regions. While travellers generally still perform socially accepted behaviours, they stop performing their role as a busy professional to a degree. Sometimes they can even push the boundaries of the socially accepted with, for example, a trio of travellers who I observed in a four-star hotel. Over a period of two hours, they ordered many alcoholic drinks, which resulted in the travellers becoming loud. Other guests in the bar looked frustratingly at them several times, and eventually the bar manager asked the trio to leave. The behaviour of these travellers was seemingly inconsistent with acceptable performances of professionalism.

With regards to back regions, Goffman (1963) suggests that individuals do not always ‘drop’ their performances in back regions, instead staying in the character they adopted in the front region. This was shown in the quote above (ID 23), where travellers can use their hotel room as an office, possibly staying in their role when returning to the hotel room because they know they will need to contact their head office in due time. The effect of

moving from a front region to a back region does, furthermore, not have to result in a significant change in behaviour, because of other factors that influence an individual's behaviour. Shaw and Thomson (2013), for example, have done interesting research into the influence of spirituality on consumption behaviour, which has shown how one's beliefs in a divine being can influence consumption behaviour. The belief in a divine being – which is ever present – could arguably lead individuals to behave according to a set of norms or beliefs, regardless of the region they inhabit or whether there is an audience present. In this case, individuals' performances can be similar in front and back regions, because their behaviour is not solely based on the region they inhabit, but also on their beliefs and values.

	Traveller aware of corporate rules	Traveller <i>not</i> aware of corporate rules/ no rules in place
Corporate surveillance present	<p>①</p> <p><i>“we have a ceiling for our evening meals”</i></p> <p>Professionalism through formal norms</p>	<p>②</p> <p><i>“you kind of learn a bit of what the senior guys do”</i></p> <p>Professionalism through informal norms</p>
No corporate surveillance present/ possible	<p>③</p> <p><i>“I always steal the bedroom slippers”</i></p> <p>‘Cracks’ in professionalism</p>	<p>④</p> <p><i>“it’s a bit childish really, but you just jump on the bed”</i></p> <p>Interrupting the performance of professionalism</p>

Figure 8.1: The rules/surveillance spectrum

In regards to corporate rules or surveillance, it should similarly be considered that back regions do not necessarily equal the absence of rules and surveillance, and that front regions do not always equal the presence of such rules or surveillance. Figure 8.1 shows a spectrum, or x-y plane, with the distinction between ‘corporate surveillance and *no* corporate surveillance present or possible’ on the vertical axis, and with the distinction between ‘a traveller’s awareness, or *not*, of corporate rules’ on the horizontal axis. Up to now, I have set out two situations with on the one hand a situation where the business traveller’s behaviour is influenced by corporate rules/expectations and surveillance through a spending ceiling

(Figure 8.1, quadrant 1). On the other hand I discussed behaviour when no rules/expectations and surveillance were present, with a traveller ‘childishly jumping on the bed’ (quadrant 4). I argue, however, that two more positions are identifiable (quadrants 2 and 3) and, hence, will refer to these four positions as part of a multi-axes spectrum.

The other two positions are situations where no formal corporate rules are present, but travellers’ behaviour is nevertheless scrutinised or supervised (quadrant 2), and situations where rules are present, but companies cannot use surveillance techniques to ensure travellers comply (quadrant 3). To first discuss the former, the following quote from a cost manager at a construction company depicts such a situation:

“On big projects there’s usually a team of us working. There’s a few senior people, a few middle ranking, and a few junior people. My experience is you’re never told exactly how much you can spend [on dinner], and you kind of learn a bit of what the senior guys do. Basically try not to spend any more than they do and you take a lead from them. So personally I would just naturally be quite conservative with how much I spend, I wouldn’t go crazy. [...] But my experience is that nothing is written down and you have to kind of use your own judgement. I seem to have that freedom, which is good, because you’re not trying to maximise allowances. [...] [It] is a much more mature way to deal with your staff. If you’re trusted to run a 4 million pounds project, then you should be trusted to look after your own expenses, so I definitely prefer it like that.”
(ID 50)

In this case the construction company has decided to allow its employees certain freedoms when travelling. While other interviewees’ companies sometimes provided the employees with a set allowance for their dinner (as was discussed earlier in this chapter), this traveller argued his company’s way of dealing with staff was more “mature”. The traveller reports feeling empowered and possibly has a lesser sense of surveillance. The corporate culture, however, ensures that senior employees informally supervise and teach junior staff in acceptable and appropriate practices by modelling such behaviour. The traveller felt he had more autonomy, because rules – whether they existed or not – were not taught or stringently enforced through overt surveillance techniques. Instead, senior team members are the role models which teach and supervise the junior staff members. In contrast, there were situations where formal rules were present, but companies were not able to control their employees’ behaviour, as the following quote illustrates:

"I always steal the bedroom slippers, unashamedly. [...] They're really comfy, haha, they're really comfy, and yeah, kind of a little souvenir I suppose." (ID 26)

Because this research consultant was working for a large research company, the company's website featured a code of conduct clearly stating that employees were expected 'to respect other's property' and 'be honest'. It could be argued that the guest (or in this case the company) had paid for the use of the hotel room, and that, therefore, the slippers are 'rented' for use while staying in the hotel. The fact that the traveller herself feels that she is 'stealing' the slippers, shows that she knows there are rules (either corporate rules, hotel rules or social controls) that expect her not to take them home. But because they are 'comfortable', and she likes to have them as a souvenir, she decides that it is worth taking the risk, seeing that the possibility of being punished is very low. Company control cannot penetrate into the hotel room when used as a back region. This quote shows how corporate rules may apply, but with surveillance being practically impossible the traveller sees possibilities to disregard rules with little risk of punishment.

To summarise the discussion up to this point, it can be argued that travellers behave differently depending on a combination of the presence, or absence, of corporate rules and surveillance. Figure 8.1 is a visual representation of the four different 'positions' travellers find themselves in when travelling. Firstly, when inhabiting spaces where rules are present and are enforced through surveillance, travellers will generally be found to 'perform' professionalism (Figure 8.1, quadrant 1). I have given the example of dinner allowances, but earlier discussions regarding the booking of hotels and flights similarly showed the influence of rules and surveillance on business travellers' behaviour. Secondly, in situations where companies have not set formal, written rules, but surveillance is in place, professionalism is performed according to informal norms (Figure 8.1, quadrant 2). This was discussed through the example of the traveller who was taught and supervised by senior team members on appropriate spending for dinner. Thirdly, in positions where rules are present but not enforced, it could be argued that 'cracks' appear in the travellers' professional behaviour (Figure 8.1, quadrant 3). This was illustrated by the traveller who 'stole' hotel slippers, but was similarly shown in a discourse of the traveller who booked his hotel stays based on the loyalty points he could collect. Finally, in situations where no rules are set and no surveillance is in place, there are opportunities for travellers to neglect performances of professionalism (Figure 8.1, quadrant 4). In these situations business

travellers can act ‘normal’, like they would at home, or because travelling and performing were often seen as a strain, behaviour in these situations could consist of stress-relieving behaviours which would not be acceptable in other situations. The traveller who jumped ‘childishly’ on the hotel bed upon arrival is an example of this situation.

8.2.5 Implications for a discussion of ERP

A discussion of front and back regions, and the presence or absence of surveillance, has shown that travellers are performing their professional behaviour. These performances are influenced and shaped by corporate structures. These structures should be understood as corporate rules and expectations, and resources allocated to travellers by their employers. While there was strict surveillance and supervision of business travellers’ behaviour in some situations (most notably in the office), I have shown that travellers have a significant amount of freedom and agency to make their own decisions at their travel destination. This was either because rules were not set or because surveillance was not present or possible.

Although none of the rules or resources actively promoted the uptake of pro-environmental practices, they *were* arguably influencing whether business travellers carried out ERP. Particularly in the office, where rules on travelling were more strictly supervised and enforced, business travellers had little feasible alternatives but to agree to business trips which involved flying. Even with the knowledge that flying is an environmentally damaging practice, the large majority of travellers said they had to take business trips and fly because of corporate structures. Earlier in this chapter, for example, I quoted one traveller as saying: “*at work I don’t get to decide. [...] It’s either this, or you don’t get paid anymore, and then the bank is going to take your house back*” (ID 35). This shows the traveller as a largely rational decision-maker who has knowledge of his employer’s expectations and the importance of an income in a capitalist system. He understands that keeping his job, and the salary that comes with it, is the preferred outcome of his actions. For that reason, to him, deciding not to travel is a *very unfeasible* option, while continuing his current travel behaviour is the only reasonable and *feasible* option. This situation relates to ‘quadrant 1’ in Figure 8.1, and the agency of travellers in this situation is particularly low.

Contrastingly, travellers have more freedom and agency to determine their behaviour and the practices they carry out when away from the office. The focus of this research into business travellers’ behaviour in hotels has shown how corporate rules and surveillance do not always penetrate into the back regions of the hotel environment. In relation to Figure 8.1, this means that business travellers’ behaviour is most stringently ruled by their

employer in quadrant 1, but the agency of travellers increases in quadrant 2, becomes higher still in quadrant 3, and even higher in quadrant 4. This relates to the influence corporate rules have on individual travellers' practices, and the ease to change practices and structures. This discussion of corporate control and surveillance, then, has shown that business travellers will have opportunities to change their behaviour, and particularly when in hotels. When in the hotel, however, the behaviour of business travellers was not only influenced by corporate structures, but naturally also by structures related to the hotel. The second part of this chapter will focus on how business travellers can influence the structures which are related to the hotel.

8.3 Individuals' agency to change structures related to the hotel

In Chapter 6 I discussed how business travellers argued that hotels offered only limited opportunities to get involved in CSR practices. Established structures in hotels, like opulent breakfast buffets, little disposable shampoo bottles, and the offering of complementary newspapers were mentioned by business travellers when describing the wastefulness of hotel operations. Few opportunities were offered to travellers to reduce the environmental impact of their hotel stay, and the practices that were offered did not compensate sufficiently for this wastefulness. CSR practices like the towel and linen reuse programmes, which are regularly found in hotels, were often the only opportunity offered to guests to get involved in hotels' CSR practices, but these arguably had little impact on the wastefulness of the other practices mentioned above. In this section I will discuss how business travellers have the opportunity to influence and alter structures in hotels to enhance their opportunities to carry out pro-environmental practices in hotels.

In regards to the potential for business travellers to change structures, there is a main difference between the agency of travellers in their office and in a hotel. This difference, which influences the potential for business travellers to change established structures, is that business travellers are *employees* in the office, while they are *remote employees* and *guests* in the hotel. Because the contract of employment of the interviewed business travellers expectedly is based on their willingness and ability to travel, business travellers effectively have relinquished their agency to make their own decisions on whether to fly or not. Furthermore, company policy might not allow them to choose which hotel to stay in. Within the hotel, however, the agency of hotel guests is higher, because the guest experience and guest satisfaction are fundamental determinants of hotel operations (see Chapter 5), and corporate control will often be diminished. Business guests are generally valued customers,

and hotels will generally attempt to provide a service as expected by their guests. This means that hotel structures can inhibit certain practices, but hotel management will also be willing to change these structures if it enhances guest satisfaction. Therefore, it can be expected that business travellers will be offered more opportunities to change hotel structures than corporate structures.

To change the hotel structures which inhibit pro-environmental practices, individuals will need to use their agency to change their practices. According to Giddens' concept of the duality of structure, "the fixity of institutional forms does not exist in spite of, or outside, the encounters of day-to-day life but *is implicated in those very encounters*" (1984: 69, emphasis in original). This means that existing structures can be changed through collective action, but also that structures are reaffirmed through inaction and conformity. By performing and acting in accordance with structures, business travellers are constantly reaffirming structures. This means that every time business travellers take a taxi to a meeting, and charge this to the company, the structure that enables them to do this is re-established. Corporations are generally willing to pay for taxi journeys (as long as the traveller provides receipts upon return), because it might give travellers a feeling of status, as the employer is paying for travellers' private transportation. Furthermore, taking a taxi is expected to increase the business traveller's productivity, because it allows the traveller to travel to specified places without the need to plan the journey – it generally saves time. By taking a taxi to meetings and requesting a refund from their employer, it could be argued that travellers are reaffirming the existence of this policy.

Similar situations can be found in the hotel. Many hotels offer their guests the opportunity to reuse towels and linen, but they will generally only do this when requested by the guest (by hanging up the towel or putting a card on the bed). Every time guests do not participate in these schemes, whether intentionally or unintentionally, hotel management can interpret this as a confirmation that their current system, where sheets and towels are renewed on a daily basis or every other day, is preferred and expected by guests; thus, the existing structure is reaffirmed.

Moreover, the reaffirmation and reshaping of structures does not only happen through actions, but also through expectations. This is particularly apparent in hotels, as the following quote illustrates:

“As a customer I always thought it was neat when you walk into [a hotel] and it’s got a huge lobby and it’s lit very well, and there will be a waterfall in the corner. All that stuff seems kind of neat, but then when you think about it, there’s all kinds of waste going on there.” (ID 35)

This interviewee admits that he finds it ‘neat’ when walking into an impressive hotel lobby, which is an indicator that he has an expectation of a certain atmosphere or ambiance when entering a hotel. While the design of a typical business hotel is more shaped around the need of predictability, low friction, functionality, and catered for “conservative tastes” (McNeill & McNamara, 2010: 148), hotel lobbies of conventional luxury hotels are built to impress, greet and welcome guests (Berens, 1997; McNeill & McNamara, 2010). In order to impress guests – to satisfy expectations of luxury – many hotels have large lobbies, lit by chandeliers or other extensive lighting installations, and decorated with lavish and grant ornaments. These luxurious features generally require a large amount of electricity to operate, and in an effort to provide each guest with a similar experience when entering the hotel these can be expected to ‘run’ 24 hours per day. Turning off lobby lights at night – and even during the day – will alter the appearance of the lobby and hence will not convey the same image to guests arriving at night. By expecting to be ‘impressed’ upon arrival in a hotel, or even by finding these lobbies ‘neat’, guests ensure the existence of such lavish hotel lobbies and, hence, reaffirm pre-existing structures.

By understanding structures as shaped and reaffirmed by individuals’ practices and expectations, Giddens (1984) is able to argue that individuals can change these structures by changing their practices. Arthur et al. (2010) further explain this concept, which they refer to as ‘incremental radicalism’. They argue that through “consistent scanning and making use of alternative opportunities provided by fractures and contradictions within the existing mainstream context”, alternative spaces can be extended to become mainstream (2010: 219). They provide a “speculative list” (ibid) of steps which would allow small changes to transform into adaptations of structures. In this list they argue that individuals can make a change to their behaviour through reflexivity and by using ‘do-it-yourself’ opportunities to, for example, reduce their impact on climate change. The extension and expansion of these processes “implies a redistribution of power resources to the alternative space. Power in this context can be seen as resources available to actors in social relations such as (...) social, economic, political and cultural capital. To the extent that this happens it is directly challenging to existing institutions of power” (Arthur et al., 2010: 220).

Arthur et al. (2010: 220) assert that their proposed list is formed of “ideal,” or even “utopian”, features and processes. Nevertheless, there are indications in the hospitality industry that structural changes are possible. A prime example is an initiative by Intercontinental Hotel Group, the largest hotel chain worldwide (HOTELS magazine, 2011), which started the Innovation Hotel project⁵³ (<http://innovation.ihgplc.com>). The initiative is described as follows on the corporate website: “Consumer research confirms that most of our customers want to make choices that are better for the environment and for communities. This makes us even more determined to find innovative ways to act responsibly throughout our brands and services. The Innovation Hotel is an online example of what future hotels might look like if they used green technologies. We created it so that our guests can tell us what they like and share their ideas with us” (IHG, 2013). One can of course be sceptical about the motives for this project (it is arguably a clever PR stunt, since they won a number of awards for it), and obviously an ‘online’ hotel is an easier proposition than a bricks-and-mortar one. However, the company seems, at the very least, to be partially influenced by the expectations and actions of guests. This example shows that through small changes in expectations and practices from individual guests, the largest hotel chain in the world might change its hotel operations to become more environmentally sustainable.

8.4 Using structures to enable change

8.4.1 Friction added by structures

Caution, however, is needed; incremental radicalism would be an ‘ideal’, or ‘utopian’, situation where individuals make the effort to demand and expect change, and use their collective agency to force changes towards the ‘greening’ of hotel stays. The reality, which has been extensively discussed in Chapters 5 to 7, is clearly different. In Chapter 5 I discussed the general lack of CSR practices that involved hotel guests, with the interviewed hotel managers arguing that requests for participation were limited to reduce the ‘hassle’ or friction to hotel guests. In Chapter 6 the importance of a frictionless hotel stay was supported in a discussion of business travellers’ expectations of their hotel stay, and Chapter

⁵³ Innovation Hotel provides a range of CSR features which have been implemented in some of IHG’s hotels, or have the potential to be implemented in the future. The following CSR practices are proposed: *Exterior*: Rainwater harvesting, landscaping with native plants, solar power, green roofs, modular building, green transport options; *Reception*: Using recycled materials, low emission finish materials, natural carpeting, local art; *Bedroom*: Bed linen laundry programmes, energy efficient appliances, guest room temperature controls, natural ventilation; *Bathroom*: Shower gel dispensers, low flow showerheads, dual flush toilets, towel reuse programmes; *Meeting room*: Using glass and china, recycling waste, reduced paper meetings, green meetings programme; *Back office*: Using local suppliers, green training, the IHG academy for local economic opportunities, ‘Green Engage’ (IT programme which records utilities used by each hotel).

7 investigated the constraints that inhibited pro-environmental practices. For many business travellers, any actions that add friction to their hotel stay are perceived as unwanted, because it adds to the strain of travelling. This expectation of little friction had a major influence on the implementation of CSR practices in the researched hotels. At the time of interviewing the hotel managers, only three of the 21 managers said that placing recycling bins in the hotel rooms was being *considered*. The assistant front of house manager and environmental champion of a hotel that was set to place an extra bin in its hotel rooms, stated the following:

“I just ordered little blue bins for the guest rooms, so we’re also trying to get the guest to recycle now. There was one bin in the bathroom, one underneath the desk, and now we have a paper bin which we will introduce to all guestrooms. [...] [It] will impact the guest, but we think it won’t bother most guests. We wouldn’t introduce that [if it] would bother the guest probably. [...] All we try to do is small things where we know guests will not be impacted or they have the choice. You know, always leave the choice for the guest.” (ID 19)

As this manager explains, requesting guests to separate their waste used to be regarded as adding friction to guests’ hotel stays, but the hotel management team had decided that placing a recycling bin in the bedroom would not be perceived as a “bother” by most guests anymore. In many societies, the practice of recycling has shifted to become a ‘mainstream’ norm and routinized practice for many individuals. Asking guests to consider in which bin to throw their waste, however, is in most hotels still seen as a hassle, as bothering guests, and for that reason the large majority of hotels did not even consider implementing this practice. The interviews with business travellers showed that this is a flawed reasoning. For those travellers that are environmentally conscious and recycle at home, having no recycling facilities seemed to increase friction, rather than reduce it. This friction is apparent from the following quote from a business traveller:

“When I stay in hotels, you know there is usually one [bin] in the bathroom and then one in the [bed]room, and I’ll use one for rubbish, and one bin for recycling, just because I think if they see it’s bottles and papers, they’ll recycle. I don’t know whether they do it, I don’t know, I suspect it all ends up in the same rubbish bin.” (ID 28)

The quote shows the frustration of the business traveller as she tries to invent a new structure in the absence of recycling facilities in her bedroom. Another business traveller (ID 42) similarly said that he would collect his newspapers *“into a stack, so 2 or 3 days later when I check out, I put the whole stack of recycling, like there, for them”*, but that he was unsure whether the newspapers would be recycled. These two examples show that, for business travellers who want to recycle their waste, the friction generated by the absence of recycling facilities is twofold. There firstly is added friction because there is no recycling bin present in the hotel bedroom, which makes it harder for travellers to separate their waste. Secondly, it adds a form of friction as it increases uncertainty. As Shiu et al. (2011) have shown, individuals will generally attempt to reduce the uncertainty surrounding decisions they have to make, since many individuals will perceive uncertainty as a negative and unwanted occurrence. Due to the transient nature of hotel stays and the fact that hotel rooms are generally cleaned when business guests are away, business travellers will always be uncertain on whether waste is recycled, even if recycling bins are present. This uncertainty, and the friction, is expectedly reduced if a recycling bin is placed in the room, because this suggests a promise that the hotel has trained their staff to keep the waste separated and that further facilities are in place to properly handle the recyclables.

The added friction from the absence of recycling facilities did not stop the two travellers quoted above, but for most interviewed business travellers it meant that they did not recycle their waste. In Chapter 6, for example, a business traveller (ID 50) was quoted as saying the following: *“If something was obvious, like recycling bins, then I would use them, but if it wasn’t then I probably just chuck things in the hotel bin.”* More friction, then, seemingly means a lower uptake of pro-environmental practices amongst business travellers. In this case, the absence of recycling facilities was found to increase friction for those that wanted to recycle their waste, which stopped the majority of travellers from recycling. The example of recycling in hotel rooms, then, shows how structures (or the absence of enabling structures) can inhibit business travellers to carry out pro-environmental practices.

It could hence be argued that the presence of CSR practices which involve hotel guests do not necessarily increase friction, and can instead reduce the friction for travellers who are conscious about their environmental impact. This does not mean, however, that any CSR practice necessarily reduces friction for environmentally aware travellers. Because hotels try to *“leave the choice for the guest”* (ID 19), ‘enabling’ CSR practices like the towel and linen reuse programmes were, according to some business travellers, similarly adding

friction because of their poor execution. One traveller said the following about his participation in the linen reuse programme during his stay in a 5-star hotel:

“In that particular hotel they would change your bed linen every single day, until I realised that there is a little card on the side of the bedside table, where if you put it onto your bed, they will not change. So the default option was change every day, unless otherwise indicated, which I found a bit ... wrong. [...] I was trying to remember every morning to put this card on, but as you can imagine, it takes some time to get used to the idea that there is a card on the bedside table that you have to put on your bed, so sometimes I forgot. You know, you wake up, stressed out a bit because you have to go, and you have all sorts of things to worry about, and you don’t always remember to put the card on the bed.” (ID 31)

This quote shows that CSR practices can increase friction, and that this traveller, despite his willingness to take part in the CSR practice, does not always take part because he is expected to put a card on the bed. Because of his busy schedule, he might forget to do this, which then excludes him from participation. This means that the implementation of CSR practices that enable pro-environmental practices, might not necessarily ‘green’ the hotel stay and the practices of business travellers. Therefore, the changing of structures to enable pro-environmental practices might not always be successful, because – as similarly discussed in the case of recycling – added friction will generally mean a lower uptake amongst business travellers. The question that should be asked as a first step, then, is not which CSR practices enable travellers to carry out pro-environmental practices, but rather which CSR practices reduce friction, with the added benefit of enabling pro-environmental practices. Therefore, instead of refusing to offer recycling bins in the hotel bedrooms, hotels could implement an extra bin for recyclables which would reduce friction for those travellers who do want to recycle. Similarly, linen reuse programmes can be changed, so that a card needs to be placed on the bed when linens should be changed (opting out of the linen reuse instead of opting in). Some cases were found where hotels are already making these changes, with a 3-star (ID 13) and 4-star hotel (ID 22) having changed their linen reuse programme from an opt-in to an opt-out programme, and three hotels (ID 15, 19, 22) were considering the implementation of recycling bins in the bedrooms. Furthermore, a number of hotels were found to enable guests to carry out pro-environmental practices outside the hotel, as will be discussed in the following section.

8.4.2 Using structures to reduce friction

As Barnett et al. (2005: 47) argue, companies like hotels can use “various devices to enable people to readjust their consumption behaviour”. Enabling hotel guests to take public transport, rather than taxis, is one example. As discussed above, taxis are the common mode of transport amongst travellers once they arrive at the destination. One business traveller explained why he took taxis to his meetings:

“Because I think you’re under the strain of needing to be places at certain times, it’s all very well going and jumping on a bus, but you don’t actually know [which] bus stop you need to be at [...], so for the sake of actually being able to make a meeting, you just end up going for the easy option.” (ID 53)

This environmentally conscious traveller, who recognizes that taking public transportation is less environmentally damaging than taking taxis, explains that he nevertheless takes taxis because attempting to take public transport increases friction, and taking taxis is part of his performance of professionalism as a busy traveller. To reduce friction and use employee time efficiently, corporations are paying for their travelling employees to take taxis. London has one of the most extensive, user-friendly and fast underground systems in the world and often going by underground train (‘tube’) is faster than taking a taxi. However, the London hotels were often found to offer travellers information about taxis rather than other modes of transportation. A small number of hotels, however, were changing their practices in an effort to reduce the friction of taking public transportation modes. The chief engineer of a 5-star hotel in the business district of London said:

“One of the things we’re looking at is how we promote our green initiative to the guest, even just to keep them more aware of what we’re doing. We’re in an area in Canary Wharf, you know, we’re close to the tubes, we got the riverboats outside, we got river walks up along the Thames path; we need to promote more of that, that’s what our Green Team now is looking at. It’s not just about saving electricity in the guest room, it’s your lifestyle, how we can make that change. Don’t use a private car, don’t use the taxi, maybe walk up along the river, get the riverboat up to Central London.” (ID 3)

The riverboats this hotel manager refers to is a commuter boat service on the Thames which is a cheap, fast, frequent service which is fully integrated into the public transportation network in London. It would, therefore, often be a quicker alternative to get into the city of

London than a taxi. Promoting alternatives to taxis amongst guests was a practice also considered by the head office of a budget chain (according to ID 12), who were considering providing information about “*local buses, walks, cycle routes*” to their guests. The management of another hotel (ID 13) found that most of their guests preferred taxis over public transport and, hence, compromised by offering guests to arrange “*green taxis*”, i.e. hybrid cars such as the Toyota Prius. These and previously discussed practices are small changes to the structures present in hotels, but they will enable busy and tired travellers to change their practices. They involve and enable hotel guests to carry out pro-environmental practices, reduce the friction of undertaking such practices, and hence could increase the uptake of these practices amongst guests.

8.5 Conclusions

This chapter has focused on structures that inhibit travellers’ uptake of pro-environmental practices, and the potential to change these structures through collective action. It was discussed how corporate control and surveillance influences travellers’ behaviour, both in the office and to a lesser extent when at the destination. While travellers ‘blamed’ their employers for their current behaviour, and the limited uptake of pro-environmental practices, a discussion of travellers’ *in situ* behaviour showed that they had considerable power to change their practices outside or within corporate structures.

The term ‘performances of professionalism’ was used in this chapter to explain the *in situ* behaviour exhibited by travellers. The concept of professional performances constituted efficient, goal-driven and time-conscious behaviour, which travellers generally utilised when in front regions. These performances were exhibited in contrast to many actions in back regions, where ‘cracks’ in the facade of professionalism could be identified, or where travellers consciously neglected to perform. Hotel bedrooms were spaces which were more often used as back regions than front regions. Most performances took place in front regions, and most ‘cracks’ were exhibited in back regions. It was argued that these performances of professionalism were linked to employer expectations, and that travellers changed their behaviour in back regions because of the limited penetration of corporate control and surveillance in these regions.

The fundamental finding of the study into travellers’ behaviour and interactions, then, was that travellers’ behaviour was influenced by corporate rules, resources, and surveillance techniques (as shown in Figure 8.1). The research also showed, however, that travellers had

agency to change particular practices, especially those that took place away from the office and away from direct corporate control and surveillance (quadrant 2, 3 and 4 in Figure 8.1). Using Giddens' concept of the 'duality of structure', it was argued that structures did not only shape travellers' behaviour, but that travellers similarly reproduced structures by behaving in accordance with them. This notion allowed me to further argue that travellers had not only to contend with structure, but that they could influence the existence of structure through collective agency. While the business travellers blamed others for the status quo and shifted the responsibility to initiate change to their employers and the hotels, this chapter has shown how there is a potential for this actor group to contribute to collective pro-environmental change together with the other stakeholders.

It has been argued in this chapter that individual travellers have the agency to change their practices and, with that, structures. It was also noted, however, that hotels can help individuals to make this change to their practices. In Chapter 5 it was discussed how hotel managers equated the involvement of guests into CSR practices with friction and hassle, but in this chapter I have argued that the implementation of CSR practices does not necessarily equal friction and, furthermore, that the absence of CSR practices does not necessarily equal the absence of friction. By taking away the friction related to CSR practices, which potentially stops travellers from making changes to their practices, hotels have the opportunity to increase the pro-environmental practices carried out by their guests, to improve the hotel's environmental performance, and to heighten guest satisfaction. This chapter, then, has shown that there are opportunities for hotels to support the uptake of pro-environmental practices by business travellers. It has been argued that business travellers cannot be expected to initiate this change alone, and that the process of 'greening' business travel is a process that needs to see collective action and collaboration between the different actor groups.

9

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This thesis is based on the understanding that individuals, through changes in their uptake of practices, can play a major role in moving towards an environmentally sustainable society. Taking a particular group of individuals, I have researched the opportunities for, and barriers to, ‘greening’ the practices of business travellers at the travel destination. To undertake this research, I have interacted with management, geography and sociology literatures, and I have combined research into tourism and travel with literature on sustainability, CSR and ethical consumption. The focus on business travel allowed for particularly interesting discussions, with contributions on social practices, structures, space and place.

In this chapter I will start with a brief summary of the key points discussed so far in this thesis, guided by the six research questions which were introduced in Chapter 1. This will be followed by a presentation of the empirical and conceptual contributions and implications, while also offering some recommendations for hotel managers and employers of business travellers. Finally, I will discuss a number of limitations of this research and how future research can further develop our knowledge of business travellers’ *in situ* practices.

9.1 Summary of the thesis

This thesis was written in part as a response to the lack of research at the intersection of business travel and environmental behaviour. Interest into the topic of business travel has been growing in recent years, particularly in the fields of tourism and geography, but this body of literature is still small compared to research into leisure travel. Studies that focus on business travel are often conducted using quantitative methods (e.g. Gustafson, 2006; Mason & Gray, 1999; Mason, 2002), and focus on other issues rather than environmental behaviour (e.g. Douglas & Lubbe, 2009, 2010; Faulconbridge et al., 2009). The limited qualitative research that to my knowledge has been undertaken at the intersection of business travel and environmentalism has focused on flight bookings (Lassen, 2010).

In this thesis I have focused on business travellers’ *in situ* practices, instead of only focusing on travellers’ attitudes to travelling and the environmental impact of their flying practices.

This opened up avenues of discussion with business travellers about their choices, their agency, their reflections, and their behaviour in different spaces. As this thesis has discussed repeatedly, flying was seen by travellers as a practice without any feasible alternatives. Practices at the location, on the other hand, were often open to change and, therefore, offered opportunities to undertake more pro-environmental activities. Practices which were predominantly discussed were waste recycling, participating in towel and linen reuse programmes in hotels, taking public transport, and the consumption of water and electricity. The focus on *in situ* practices, therefore, has allowed for a better and more thorough understanding of the barriers and opportunities for business travellers to determine how they carry out such practices. With a focus on corporate and hotel structures, I have researched the influence of travellers' employers and hotel CSR practices on business travellers' behaviour.

This thesis has attempted to move forward the research into business travel and environmental behaviour, by interacting with management, geography and sociology literatures, and by combining research into tourism and travel with literature on sustainability, CSR and ethical consumption. By using qualitative research methods to explore business travellers' ERP when at their travel destination, I have investigated if there is a scope for expanding pro-environmental practices. The qualitative approach has allowed for a better understanding of business travellers' attitudes and feelings towards travelling and staying in hotels, and similarly towards climate change, the uptake of ERP and business travellers' reflections on their current practices. To achieve a comprehensive understanding of business travel as a 'meta-practice' (i.e. a set of practices), the role that environmental considerations play in these practices, and to establish the potential for changes which will encourage a greater uptake of pro-environmental practices, six research questions were designed to guide the interviews with hotel managers, individual business travellers and their employers:

1. Do business travellers reflect on their travel-related practices in regards to environmental impacts? If so, why and how? If not, why not?
2. Do hotel management teams implement CSR practices to reduce their hotels' environmental impact? If so, which, and how are they communicated to stakeholders? If not, why not?
3. Do these three researched actor groups – hotel management, business travellers and their employers – influence each others' uptake of ERP (in the case of travellers)

and implementation of CSR practices (in the case of hotels and employers)? If so, how and why? If not, why not?

4. Is there a link between travellers' embodied experience of business travel and the uptake, or not, of ERP when travelling?
5. Do spaces, particularly the hotel space and home space and their social construction and structural characteristics, have an influence on the uptake, or not, of ERP amongst business travellers? If so, how?
6. Are there barriers and constraints which prohibit business travellers from changing existing structures? If so, which and how can these constraints be lifted?

Answers to these questions were pursued by carrying out 34 interviews with business travellers, 22 interviews with London hotel managers and 4 expert interviews with company representatives, as well as participant observations in hotels. Instead of summarizing what I have discussed in each chapter, here I will focus on each research question to explore what I have discussed so far.

9.1.1 The 'blaming' of other actor groups

The exploratory nature of the research meant that much of the focus was on the status quo of environmental practices. Research questions 1 and 2 explored the extent of environmental practices currently carried out by business travellers, and implemented in hotels respectively. Furthermore, research question 3 related to the influence individual business travellers, their employers and hotel management have on one another to implement CSR practices and carry out ERP. In Chapter 5 the implementation of CSR practices in hotels was discussed, which showed that many hotels implemented a range of, often low-impact, CSR practices, often by order of their head office. There was, however, limited communication to hotel guests about these practices, and guests were largely not involved in hotels' CSR practices. With the general exception of towel and linen reuse programmes, most CSR practices took place 'back-of-house' (i.e. in areas not accessible to guests), with guests not asked for participation or informed about their existence. The large majority of CSR practices were implemented to reduce the hotels' *environmental* impact, but there were also some *social* practices that involved supporting charities and the local community. The actual impact of these CSR practices on hotel operations and their environmental sustainability was questionable, and the reasons for hotels to implement these practices were often related to financial cost-savings.

Many implemented practices that reduced hotels' environmental impact, like LED lighting, dual-flush toilets, towel and linen reuse programmes, and key activation systems all had the potential to generate considerable cost-savings for hotels. Some hotels requested charitable donations from guests, but this practice had little impact – if any – on hotels' costs. The approach from the head offices of many hotels seemed inadequate to sufficiently inform and involve junior staff members in making the company more environmentally sustainable and socially responsible, with hotel managers, furthermore, arguing that their staff was often not interested in participating in the implementation of CSR practices. The lack of proper procedures to inform and involve hotel staff with CSR practices in many hotels, however, showed that the implementation of CSR practices was often based on cost savings for the hotel, regulatory requirements such as mandatory recycling schemes, pollution reductions or building alterations, and as a marketing tool for hotel chains. I, therefore, argued that the commitment of most hotels could be defined as a 'weak' sustainability approach (Neumayer, 2003), which allows for the depletion of natural capital and, thus, is not in conflict with current business models. This a popular approach in the business community, and London hotels seemed to interpret it to mean business-as-usual, with CSR practices only implemented if it profits the core business.

Hotel managers, however, blamed business travellers' (as well as leisure travellers') attitudes, and those of travellers' employers, for their own limited efforts to implement CSR practices. As was discussed in Chapter 5, they argued that their approach to the implementation of CSR practices was based on guests' expectations of luxury – a notion associated with abundance, not associated with sustainability – and the low importance business travellers and their employers assigned to CSR practices when booking a hotel. Even though hotel managers received an increasing number of requests for information about CSR practices from corporate clients, they questioned the importance of this information for the procurement of hotel rooms. They generally reported that they did not observe any change in the behaviour of business travellers from companies that had requested to see their CSR information. Most travellers, hotel managers argued, would expect luxury and would behave less conscientious, for example, in their resource use, when visiting a hotel in comparison with how they behaved at home.

Similar to hotel managers, business travellers were 'blaming' other actors for their current *in situ* practices, which generally included only limited ERP, particularly when compared to the practices carried out in the home environment. Although some travellers did not carry out ERP at all, whether it was when they were at home or when away, many business

travellers said that they did carry out more ERP at home than when away on travels. As discussed in Chapter 6, almost half of the interviewed travellers partially ‘blamed’ hotel spaces for this change in behaviour, as they perceived hotels as wasteful places where guests were given very limited opportunities to participate in CSR practices. Hotels were blamed for excessive food production (and consequently food waste), using disposable plastic bottles in bathrooms rather than refillable dispensers, and wasting energy through extensive lighting systems and ‘constant’ air-conditioning. Four travellers, furthermore, accused hotel staff of ignoring their requests to reuse towels and bed linens. This meant that in one of the few opportunities they were offered to reduce their environmental impact, travellers were still reliant on hotel staff who they claimed did not always comply with their wishes.

Furthermore, almost all business travellers discussed how the strain of travelling had a negative impact on their uptake of ERP. Research question 4 was formulated to investigate the effect of the embodied experience of travelling on business travellers’ uptake of ERP. Employers’ expectations of frequent travel and busy working schedules meant that many travellers experienced business travel as a strenuous activity. Travellers stated how travelling was physically stressful due to the need to travel to different time zones without being given much time to adjust, and having tight deadlines and busy working schedules, but also due to lifestyle changes which often included less exercise and more unhealthy eating habits. Added to these strains are mental stresses derived from being regularly away from family and friends, spending a lot of time alone in unfamiliar locations, being expected to behave ‘professionally’, and being generally tired and overworked. When making decisions on particular practices, like recycling waste or taking transport, travellers said that they would often take the easy or convenient option. This led me to argue that travellers based many of their decisions on the ‘friction’ different alternatives would entail, and habitual practices were often formed by undertaking the activity with the least ‘friction’. The strains and stresses of travelling meant that the expectations of a hotel stay were for many travellers centred on the importance of ‘friction’, meaning that hotels should offer a ‘frictionless’ experience which allowed travellers to relax without obstacles, and that CSR practices should not add ‘friction’.

A key finding here is that many travellers would not only ‘blame’ hotel managers for the wastefulness of hotel operations, but also for the absence of facilities – or wrong execution of CSR practices – which would increase the ‘friction’ of attempting to undertake pro-environmental practices. Business travellers furthermore said that their employers did also not encourage them to consider the environmental impact of their practices when away on

business trips, with none of the 34 interviewed travellers having knowledge of any formal policies which were implemented by their company which encouraged pro-environmental practices. Indeed, most policies and expectations travellers had to comply with were argued to inhibit pro-environmental practices, and instead benefitted cost savings. This meant for example, that, tight scheduling prevented the use of public transport. Further, according to business travellers and company representatives, hotel bookings were based on price and not environmental considerations.

9.1.2 Practices at home and when away

The interviews with business travellers did not only focus on *in situ* practices, but also on travellers' uptake of ERP in their home environment. Research question 5 focused on the impact that the home and away environment had on business travellers' uptake of ERP. Some studies have found a potential difference in behaviour when individuals are at home and when on holiday (Barr et al., 2010; see also Caruana & Crane, 2011). This information was used in Chapters 6 and 7 to draw comparisons between business travellers' behaviour at home and when away. This showed that the characteristics of these spaces had an apparent influence on business travellers' behaviour, with the uptake of pro-environmental practices reported to be higher in the home environment than when travellers were away on their travels. In Chapter 7 the differences between home and away environments were discussed, to provide a possible explanation for the difference in practices. I argued that business travellers seemed to feel more agency, as well as responsibility, for their actions, and the subsequent consequences, when at home. At home, environmental considerations were often part of routinized practices (Barnett et al., 2005), whereas environmental considerations were less often part of routine or habit when travelling. The interviewed business travellers had more knowledge of the options available to change their practices, and had more control over their time, when at home. In contrast, when travelling, business travellers would generally only spend a short time at any one location, had limited control over funds and their own time, and were more reliant on facilities offered by hotels.

In Chapter 8, Goffman's (1959, 1963) extensive work on social encounters and the influence of spaces was used to further investigate the behaviour of travellers in hotels, which found a difference between travellers' behaviour in front regions and back regions. In front regions, travellers were often exhibiting performances of 'professionalism', while interviewed travellers' said that their behaviour changed when in back regions. This difference in behaviour showed that travellers were performing their professional behaviour – playing a role – when in front regions. It was discussed how the expectations of

employers, and particularly the ‘reach’ of surveillance techniques, influenced this difference in behaviour. While travellers’ behaviour could be controlled and supervised when they were in front regions, back regions could be shielded from corporate control and surveillance which resulted in travellers’ dropping their ‘professional’ facade. It was also highlighted, however, that the distinction between front and back regions is not as absolute as the terms may suggest. While McNeill (2008), for example, equals hotel bedrooms with private, back spaces, the research into business travellers’ behaviour has shown that hotel rooms will often be back regions, but can also transform into (partial) front regions during video-conferences.

9.1.3 Barriers, practices and structures

Research question 6 focused on the barriers which stopped business travellers from considering the environmental impact of their practices. Social practice theory, and in particular Giddens’ (1984) structuration theory were used to discuss the constraints to ERP in Chapters 7 and 8. An important aspect of practice theory is the understanding that most of individuals’ behaviour consists of routinized actions (Reckwitz, 2002). Using pre-existing structures – which should be understood as rules that are embedded into societal existence – individuals shape their lives and behaviour through routinized practices (Barnett et al., 2011). In this thesis I have shown how corporate structures, through formal rules and informal expectations, influenced business travellers’ practices when away from the office. Furthermore, and as mentioned above, the structures in hotels could similarly influence business travellers’ practices. As Giddens (1984) has explained, structures are often perceived as simply inhibiting individuals from changing their practices, and this was seemingly similar in the case of business travellers, with business travellers arguing that corporate structures and hotel structures largely inhibited them from considering the environmental impact of their practices.

It was argued that many business travellers used corporate rules and expectations, as well as model behaviour from colleagues, to guide their own behaviour. They seemed to feel part of a business travel community which resulted in travellers adjusting or ‘tuning’ their practices to fit in with the community. Inclusion in this imagined community had important impacts on their self-identity and, hence, fitting in with group practices had power over individuals. Structures were followed rather than altered. It was argued that the potential for change was inhibited further by the finding that some travellers perceived the imagined community of business travellers in general as too large for a change in their practices to make any impact on the existing structures, which subsequently seemed to result in individual travellers’

neglecting to reflect on their own practices. Chapter 7 concluded that the strain of travelling and barriers such as acute time pressures and the absence of facilities made many travellers behave in accordance with existing structures, while ‘community membership’ stopped business travellers from considering why these structures were in place, how they impacted their individual practices and whether they could be changed.

It was argued in Chapter 8, however, that business travellers collectively, and by collaborating with other actors, had the agency to change these structures so that pro-environmental practices would be encouraged, or at the least enabled, by structures. Using Arthur et al.’s (2010) concept of ‘incremental radicalism’, it was pointed out that small changes to practices by a group of individual travellers could result in larger, structural changes, with these alternative practices eventually becoming mainstream. Considering earlier discussions of the strains and stresses of travelling, and the importance of reducing and avoiding ‘friction’, however, it was concluded that business travellers should not be expected to increase ‘friction’ by carrying out practices which would go against pre-existing structures.

Having briefly summarized how the six research questions were discussed in the previous chapters, I will now continue by discussing the main theoretical and empirical contributions that were made in this thesis. The contributions are divided by theme, and for each contribution some recommendations will be provided which are based on the findings.

9.2 Home-away behaviour

9.2.1 Theoretical and empirical contributions

The distinction between home and away practices was extensively used in Chapters 6 and 7 to discuss the extent of business travellers’ uptake of ERP when away, and to be able to compare it with the uptake of such practices in another environment. Other scholars have started to investigate how leisure travellers set aside their environmental values when going on holiday, showing that individuals go on holiday to ‘get away’ from their mundane working life (Caruana & Crane, 2011) and, thereby, would stop carrying out activities which are habitual in the home environment (Barr et al., 2010). Instead of focusing on leisure travellers, this research has focused on business travellers, because their travels do not necessarily mean that they ‘get away’ from their working lives. Instead, business travellers spend time away from their family and friends in spaces which can be characterised as liminal (between the home and office) and monotonous. For many business travellers,

travelling is, therefore, not the ‘exciting’ break from the mundane which is pursued by leisure travellers (Barr et al., 2010). I have discussed in the preceding chapters, however, that like leisure travellers, business travellers consider the environmental impact of their practices less when travelling, and undertake fewer pro-environmental practices, but for reasons such as increased physical and mental stress, busy working schedules and the overall strain of travelling. It could, therefore, be argued that it might not only be ‘escapism’ which inhibits individuals from carrying out pro-environmental practices, but also the stresses that come with being away from home and travelling.

Through a comparison between business travellers’ home and away practices, this thesis has contributed to furthering the understanding of the influence of space and lifestyle sectors on individuals’ behaviour. When travelling, business travellers found themselves in situations where pro-environmental practices were not necessarily expected or encouraged. They generally stayed in hotels, which were places where many travellers had to be able to do work, but also where travellers expected to have the ability to relax and unwind. As was found in interviews with hotel managers and business travellers, and through observations in hotels, reducing ‘friction’ was an important determinant of many travellers’ decision-making. Business travellers would generally follow pre-existing structures and not cause ‘friction’ by behaving in contradiction or defiance of rules and expectations.

In contrast, the home environment offered the same travellers, who were conscious (or even concerned) about their impact on the natural environment, more opportunities to change their practices. More time was spent at home than at any one travel destination, there was greater control over finance-related decisions and many travellers exhibited a greater sense of responsibility for their family and surrounding environment. This did not necessarily mean that travellers were very environmentally conscious at home, with convenience still playing a prime role in making choices, but travellers seemed more open and aware of options to recycle waste, use alternative modes of transport, reduce their consumption of water and energy, and purchase environmentally or socially responsible goods.

The research into home versus away behaviour has contributed to furthering the understanding of individuals’ uptake of ERP. It has strengthened the notion that spaces or environments have the potential to influence behaviour. Specificities of these environments – in this case the difference between the home environment and the stressful away spaces – were found to impact the frame of mind of business travellers, which subsequently influenced their preparedness to reflect on their practices and consider their environmental

impact. Since pro-environmental practices often required a move away from pre-existing or more mainstream practices, travellers were often more willing to consider the inclusion of these practices in their home lifestyle than in their away lifestyle where time pressures and physical and mental strains stopped them from such reflections.

The focus on the social practices carried out by business travellers has also contributed to a better understanding of their behaviour. Practices, which are the routinized and habitual actions of individuals, the banal and mundane activities people undertake on a daily basis, are of great interest to a discussion of ERP. The effect of habits and routines on environmental behaviour has been discussed before (e.g. Aarts et al., 1997; Page & Page, 2011; Verplanken & Aarts, 1999), and in this thesis I have attempted to further these discussions. By comparing the routinized practices of business travellers when they were at home and when they were away, I have shown how different routines can be present in different environments, and how breaking these routines can be easier in one environment than in another.

This research has shown that the routinized and habitual practices of travellers in the home situation did often not resonate with their practices when away. Whereas convenience was an important determinant of practices in both the home and away environment, it could be argued that the interviews with business travellers have shown that their attitudes towards ERP had a stronger influence on their behaviour at home than when away. While the attitudes themselves might not have changed when these travellers left their home environment, I have discussed in this thesis how the situational context distorted the link between travellers' attitudes and behaviour, and how travellers stopped carrying out the practices they undertook in their home environment. This thesis, therefore, provides a contribution to the conceptualisation of the attitude behaviour gap. In the home environment as well as the away environment, travellers with (sometimes strong) attitudes towards reducing their environmental impact argued that their behaviour did not always resonate with their attitudes, because of mitigating factors such as convenience, price, significant others, or time pressure. An ever-growing body of literature on the attitude-behaviour gap has attempted to pinpoint the exact link between attitudes and behaviour (e.g. Carrington et al., 2010), and this thesis is another piece of the puzzle towards a better understanding of this link. I have discussed in this thesis how business travellers' stressful lifestyles, the central reason for their travels, their limited knowledge of often unfamiliar locations, and the influence of relevant others, often negatively impact the link between attitudes towards their environmental impact and actual behaviour.

This thesis has provided empirical evidence of the importance of the situational context in discussions regarding the link between attitudes and behaviour. As stated above, being in an unknown environment, while having to carry out a job in often stressful conditions, influenced the behaviour of travellers significantly. The person stayed the same, but when the context changed, the behaviour of the traveller changed as well. In many cases, travellers were heavily reliant on hotel facilities and structures, and the structures that were in place in travellers' homes were often not present in the away environment, thereby creating real and imagined barriers for travellers who wanted to behave in a pro-environmental way. This means that the habits which were carried out routinely by travellers in their home environment were instantly substituted by other, often contrasting, habits when away from home. There needs to be further research undertaken into the exact structures that allow individuals to change their practices and carry out more pro-environmental practices. This would lead to a better understanding of how habits can be changed in those environments that currently see a limited uptake of such practices. Furthermore, more research is needed to investigate how in some situations habits *do* transfer from the home environment to the away environment, as was for example seen in the case of a few travellers who wanted to recycle in their hotel room. Some travellers found recycling facilities in their room and some did not, and some created their own recycling bag. A better understanding of individuals' responses to situations where their pro-environmental habits are not supported by structures away from home is needed, so as to be able to determine why certain habits are transferred to different environments, while the large majority appeared not to be.

9.2.2 Recommendations

The comparison between practices in the home and when away has shown that there are major differences in the uptake of ERP between these two environments. The reasons for these differences are extensively discussed. Interviews and observation have shown that business travellers often felt tired, stressed, overworked and disorientated when travelling, and were negatively disposed towards being alone and away from their family, while nevertheless having to keep up a professional demeanour. It could be argued that it is therefore important for hotels to reduce the friction to travellers' hotel stays wherever possible. This could mean, for example, that the check-in process should be swift and 'smooth', and that the preferences for returning guests – like room type, window view, pillow type – should be known and adhered to by the hotel, and many hotels already do this. In regards to the implementation of CSR practices this similarly means that it should be

considered whether these practices add, or possibly reduce, friction for hotel guests. Travellers are generally not in the state of mind to consider changing their behaviour to include more onerous practices, especially not if these practices add friction. A clear example of this was given in Chapter 8 with a discussion of the implementation of linen reuse programmes in hotels. Most hotels that were part of the interviewing process would provide a card which guests could place on the bed if they would *not* prefer their linens to be changed. This enables hotel guests to take part in a CSR practice, without alienating those guests who expect fresh linens every day. However, because business travellers were often busy and stressed, it was shown that they could forget to place the card on the bed. By turning the process around – placing the card on the bed means a change of linens – the uptake of the reuse programme will, expectedly, be higher and will reduce the environmental impact of the hotel, and the friction to travellers who do not want their linens changed is reduced, while those guests that expect regular clean sheets continue to have this option. Alternatively, guests could be asked upon check-in if they would like their linens changed on a daily basis or not, which could then be registered in the hotel's database. This way, environmental expectations are given preference over luxury expectations in an effort to reduce friction.

9.3 Luxury, CSR practices and 'friction'

9.3.1 Theoretical and empirical contributions

The importance of reducing 'friction' for business travellers' hotel stays has been proposed above. This means that hotel managers should consider the 'friction' that is added or reduced from implementing CSR practices. As discussions in Chapter 5 have shown, however, to fully comprehend the issue of 'friction' and CSR practices in hotels, the issue of 'luxury' needs to be considered simultaneously. In interviews with hotel managers, they seemed to be aware of the importance of 'friction', and argued that part of a luxury hotel meant offering a 'frictionless' and 'hassle-free' (ID 3) experience for those travellers.

Luxury and CSR practices, however, were often perceived as incompatible. Many interviewed hotel managers argued that expectations of luxury forced them to provide services which might not be the most sustainable alternatives. Examples that were given were the offering of copious breakfast buffets, clean linen and towels each day, disposable bottles with care products, and other luxury items like complementary papers, slippers and bathrobes. The building and design of hotels were furthermore based on this perception of luxury, rather than environmental sustainability, with some hotel managers arguing that

their guests expected extensive lighting systems as a show of luxury, continuous air-conditioning, and powerful showers. Furthermore, particular CSR practices were not implemented, because they were associated with ‘friction’ and, therefore, a reduction of luxury. Examples were requesting guests to recycle in their bedrooms, upon check-in providing information and requesting guests to participate in CSR practices, expecting guests to request clean bed linens, or impeding guests’ freedom by programming the air-conditioning to a pre-set temperature range.

In Figure 9.1, the differences between the perception of luxury, CSR practices and friction by hotel managers and business travellers are shown. As discussed above, a frictionless hotel stay was very important to business travellers, and hotel managers seemed aware of this. Hotel managers would generally perceive CSR practices as adding friction to hotel stays and, hence, would equate luxury with an absence of CSR practices that directly impact guests’ experiences, or require the involvement or participation of guests. Hence, more CSR practices were equated with a less luxurious guest experience, and less CSR practices with a more luxurious hotel stay. According to hotel managers, then, the implementation of CSR practices makes hotels ‘colder and darker places’ (Connolly & Prothero, 2003). As Connolly and Prothero (2003: 282) have argued, ethical consumption is often seen as “a cold and dark place” where individuals have to give up something or lose out. According to hotel managers, the luxury offered to guests reduces when CSR practices are implemented.

HOTEL MANAGERS	BUSINESS TRAVELLERS
No friction = Luxury	No friction = Luxury
CSR practices = Friction	CSR practices ≠ Friction
<u>Hence:</u> Luxury = No CSR practices	<u>Hence:</u> Luxury ≠ No CSR practices

Figure 9.1: The relation between luxury, CSR practices and friction, according to hotel managers and business travellers

What the interviews with business travellers have highlighted, however, is that business travellers do not necessarily equate the presence of CSR practices in hotels with friction and, thereby, argued that the luxury of hotel stays was not necessarily enhanced by an absence of CSR practices. More or less CSR practices in hotels do not necessarily influence travellers’ perception of luxury, and to most business travellers, the absence of friction was far more important than the presence of luxury services. CSR practices that reduce friction can therefore enable travellers to get closer to living an ‘alternative hedonistic’ lifestyle

(Soper, 2004; Soper et al., 2009), where their priorities move away from materialistic expectations of luxury, and towards a more simplistic, tailored, frictionless and sustainable hotel stay. In that sense, simplicity *is* luxury. For instance, there could be a refillable soap dispenser with high-quality organic soap already in the shower, instead of four different fiddly bottles of gels to choose from.

The friction of hotel stays is, therefore, not necessarily negatively correlated with luxury, but it should rather be understood as an alternative evaluative perspective. While certain CSR practices can increase friction, there are many practices which can positively reduce the friction for travellers, and which should therefore be implemented. In Chapter 8, for example, it was discussed how none of the interviewed hotel managers had implemented recycling bins in the bedrooms because these were perceived as adding ‘hassle’ or ‘friction’ to guests’ hotel stays. In a discussion of business travellers’ uptake of ERP in hotels, however, it was argued that the absence of recycling bins could similarly be conceived as a form of ‘friction’, since guests who wanted to recycle had to make up their own recycling system. Furthermore, for many business travellers being asked to recycle was not perceived as a ‘hassle’ or an issue that increased friction. For many travellers it was a habitual practice that they carried out at home, and friction was created when the habit was broken. They were willing to undertake this practice in their hotel room as long as there was a clear recycling system in place.

The findings discussed in this thesis allow for a better understanding of the relationship between ‘luxury’, ‘friction’ and CSR practices. This thesis suggests ‘existence or lack of friction’ to be a more appropriate evaluative perspective for business travellers as opposed to the ‘luxury’ perspective frequently adopted by hotel managers. Some forms of luxury can create friction while other forms can reduce it. In fact, the absence of friction is itself a form of non-material luxury in the sense of Soper’s alternative hedonism. There is, however, very limited research and literature on perceptions of luxury and friction in hotels, and how the implementation of CSR practices effects these perceptions. This exploratory study suggests that the evaluative perspective of ‘friction’ could be used in future research to explore whether this is indeed the, or at least one of the key concerns of business travellers and if so, how this might be aligned in more sustainable practices by the hotel.

9.3.2 Recommendations

In the interviews with hotel managers, all of them stressed that the guest and his or her expectations, requests and satisfaction are the most important aspect of running a successful

hotel operation. Hotel managers seemed well aware of the need to reduce the ‘friction’, or ‘hassle’, of hotel stays to achieve the satisfaction of their business guests. They often perceived that this hassle increased with the amount of information provided or requests made to guests. In this thesis I have argued that this is possibly incorrect. I have argued that the absence of information about CSR practices and the absence of requests and facilities for guests to participate in CSR practices will not always equal less ‘hassle’ or ‘friction’. The absence of CSR practices, as well as the incorrect execution of CSR practices – as was discussed in Chapter 8 in regards to the towel reuse programme, where guests’ wishes were ignored – has the potential to add ‘friction’. Hotel management should consider the strain of travelling, and the busy schedules of business travellers when implementing CSR practices, and consider that the implementation of CSR practices does not necessarily equal ‘friction’, and that the absence of CSR practices does not necessarily reduce ‘friction’. The absence of friction was more important to business travellers than the presence of luxury services, which means that hotels should not determine whether to implement CSR practices based on the impact on luxury services, but rather on the impact on friction.

This means that when dealing with business travellers, hotel management should not necessarily make decisions regarding the implementation of CSR practices based on what they perceive as ‘luxury’, but based on business travellers’ perception of ‘friction’. An example of this, which was discussed before in Chapter 8, is the taking of taxis. Many London hotels offer to call taxis as part of their service to guests. In a city like London, however, where traffic jams are frequent, especially during rush hour, it might be quicker and easier to take the London Underground service, to hire a bicycle⁵⁴ or walk, or take the ferry on the river Thames. Adequate information provision to guests about the different options they have can reduce the friction for business travellers and enhance the feeling of luxury. While particular CSR practices can certainly negatively influence the feeling of luxury, especially when extensive changes to services are made (e.g. by rigorously cutting the breakfast buffet or reducing the water flow of the shower without placing aerators to increase the water pressure), simplicity can also be seen as a form of luxury. Luxury goods and services are increasingly scrutinised for their ethicality, and this is set to continue (Davies et al., 2012). Furthermore, more simple goods, such as unprocessed, organic and local produce, are increasingly perceived as luxury goods, with consumers willing to pay more for transparent supply chains and natural and local products. Although more research is needed to establish whether this is the same for luxury hotel stays, it is clear that

⁵⁴ See www.tfl.gov.uk/roadusers/cycling/14808.aspx for information about the Barclays Cycle Hire scheme in London.

perceptions of luxury are ever changing. Therefore, this thesis argues that hoteliers should not base their decision-making on the fact whether a product or service can be seen as ‘luxury’ or not, but whether the product reduces friction.

9.4 CSR practices and reporting

9.4.1 Theoretical and empirical contributions

The discussion of luxury and CSR practices leads to the following contribution of this thesis, which relates to the CSR practices implemented in hotels and how these are communicated and reported to different stakeholders. A cross examination of information provided on the websites of hotels and parent companies, and information collected through interviews with hotel managers, showed that CSR commitments are not a major marketing tactic for the 196 researched London hotels. Among the 21 hotels that were part of the interview process, limited mention was made on hotel websites about the CSR practices that were implemented. By assessing the hotels’ environmental certifications it was, furthermore, determined that many hotels with environmental certifications did not necessarily share their achievements online.

Although the information provided on hotel websites was arguably less than their actual CSR implementations, it cannot be denied that the reporting of CSR commitments is a growing trend (Holcomb et al., 2007; Hsieh, 2012). With the requirements and regulations around CSR reporting increasing, many of the large multinational hotel chains will be expected to publish these details. Indeed, all major chains that were part of this study had extensive information about their CSR commitments on their parent company websites. This information, however, was generally written by head offices, and as many interviewed hotel managers indicated, would trickle down to individual hotels as CSR *policies*. Hotel management had subsequently the task of converting this information into concrete CSR practices, to involve the junior level staff in these practices and to generate enthusiasm.

The research for this thesis has contributed to the understanding that it is often hard for hotel managers to convert head office policies into practices, firstly because these practices are not supposed to add ‘friction’ to guests’ hotel stays, but secondly also because many employees are not interested in the practices. I have argued that this recorded disinterest from junior staff members in CSR practices could relate to the added duties or pressures that CSR practices place on the employees. It seems that head offices are interested in CSR practices for reporting purposes, but they neglect to take actions which would embed CSR

practices in the core operations of their hotels more sustainably, like acknowledging and compensating for a potential effect on workloads. Higher workloads did not seem to be compensated accordingly, and while CSR practices could also lead to reduced workloads, for example, with the implementation of a linen reuse programme, from my experience of working in a hotel's housekeeping department I know that this could result in time reductions to clean rooms, and hence reduced pay.

9.4.2 Recommendations

Being an environmentally and socially responsible company will arguably become increasingly important to hotel companies. Hotel chains can be expected to come under increased scrutiny from civil society organisations and governments (Middleton & Hawkins, 1998), and from companies who are looking to procure hotel rooms for their travelling employees (Harris, 2009). The rise of CSR and sustainability as buzzwords in the business community has also resulted in the popularity of 'greenwashing' (Parguel et al., 2011). As expectations of CSR commitments grow, hotel companies will aim to prevent accusations of using their CSR commitments merely as a PR and marketing tool. To prevent such accusations, hotels will need to make CSR practices become part of their core business, rather than an 'add-on' to use as a promotional or cost-saving tool.

To make CSR practices an integral part to the business, more involvement and input from junior level staff is needed. CSR practices cannot be expected to be successful without the involvement of junior staff members, and junior staff members cannot be expected to become involved by simply being ordered to undertake extra tasks. While many hotels had Green Teams which allowed employees to have an input in the CSR practices that were implemented in the hotels, the added pressures of the implementation of CSR practices on staff time and workloads were seemingly neglected.

Possibly even more important is the skewed focus many hotels currently have. As was discussed in Chapter 5, most CSR practices that are implemented relate to hotels' environmental impact, while a far lower number of social practices generally focus on local, national or international charities. When developing a CSR strategy, hotels should focus more on what differentiates their organisation, rather than focus on easily implementable practices (Smith, 2003). The hospitality industry is characterised by low paid and precarious jobs and high turnover rates (Houdré, 2008; Iverson & Deery, 1997), and it seems therefore reasonable to expect that hotel chains and individual hotels consider their own employees, and to be a responsible company towards them (e.g. by signing up to the

Living Wage campaign (Dominiczak, 2012), instead of focusing on CSR practices which are potentially better marketing tools, but are also farther removed from their core business. Hotel management has to implement a mix of practices which, on the one hand, alleviate the strains hotels put on the often vulnerable natural environments they are placed in and the high amount of natural resources they use, and which on the other hand improve the livelihoods of their staff and suppliers through fair working conditions, buying local and Fair Trade produce, and supporting their local community. As Smith (2003) argues, engagement with stakeholders is critical, and without a balanced mix of practices, social commitments such as supporting external charities may ring hollow to consumers/guests.

Finally, in relation to research methods that are presently used to gauge CSR commitments in the hospitality industry, the combination of website analysis and interviews has provided an insight into the possible shortcomings of research that is solely based on website analyses (e.g. Holcomb et al., 2007; Hsieh, 2012). With clear differences found in the information provided on hotel websites, parent company websites and actual practices implemented in the 21 hotels according to the managers that took part in the interview process, it could be argued that the findings and conclusions of studies that are solely based on website information should be interpreted with some caution.

9.5 Structures and collective action

9.5.1 Theoretical and empirical contributions

This thesis has shown that Giddens' (1984) theory of structuration can be usefully applied to explaining business travellers' ERP. In explaining the practices of business travellers an attitude-behaviour gap was found, and this gap differed considerably between the home environment and the away environment. This difference seems predominantly based on the situational context, which includes factors such as time pressure, stress, and available facilities. While the situational context has been researched before, in this thesis I have used structuration theory and social practice theory to understand the situational context as largely embedded in pre-existing structures. Where structuration theory and social practice theory contribute to the existing literature and ongoing discussions on the influence of situational context on individuals' actions, is the understanding that actors, who are influenced by structures, can change these same structures by changing their practices. Hence, the situational context is not seen as external or autonomous factors that influence individuals' behaviour, but rather as interdependent with, and in some cases influenced by, the behaviour of individuals.

The usefulness of Giddens' structuration theory to research ERP was already proposed by Spaargaren and Van Vliet (2000) and Spaargaren (2003), and this thesis has combined research into structures with business travellers' behaviour in the home and away environment. At present, the structures that impact business travellers' *in situ* practices, like corporate rules and expectations, and the rules that regulate hotel operations, often inhibit pro-environmental practices, as was explained in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. When hotel structures that encouraged recycling, reducing water and electricity consumption, or taking public transportation were not present, the uptake of such practices was generally low. Contrastingly, in the home environment where these structures were more often present and understood, the uptake of the same practices was found to be more prevalent. This has shown how structures have negative or positive impacts on travellers' uptake of pro-environmental practices, and that different environments have different structures in place impacting on travellers' behaviour.

Business travellers were found to blame the *in situ* structures, among other things, for the limited pro-environmental practices they carried out when away. Hotel managers, however, argued that the present rules and operations were in place because of the expectations and behaviour of their guests (which included business travellers). By utilising Giddens' theory of structuration, and by making habitual practices of business travellers in hotels a main focus of this thesis, it was possible to discuss how these actor groups had the agency to change these structures. This is not to say, however, that the agency to make changes is the same for all actors. In the case of this thesis, it can be argued that hotel management, business travellers' employers and governments are in a good position to initiate a change in structures, but in some cases, like the recycling of waste in the bedroom or turning off lights and appliances, also need the cooperation of business travellers to ensure that structures are permanently changed. The research into the liminal hotel spaces has identified opportunities for business travellers to determine what practices they carry out. Through a process referred to as 'incremental radicalism' (Arthur et al., 2010), individuals' small changes to their practices could incrementally lead to more and greater changes in behaviour, which, by influencing other actors such as colleagues and employers, could result in a change in structures.

In the away environment, however, travellers are generally reliant on their employers and hotel management to enable them to make these changes. Employers could support this process of change by involving their employers more with the formulation and execution of

CSR policies, and by extending these CSR policies to situations outside the office. Hotel management could offer guests more opportunities to decide and reflect on their practices. By ‘loosening’ current structures and by offering more opportunities for guests to be involved and carry out pro-environmental practices (without forcing those who do not want to), and by making the pro-environmental alternative the most frictionless option, a collaborative approach towards ‘greening’ business travel and hotel stays is supported. In recognising that business travellers seek to avoid friction, trials should focus on shaping structures which generate the least amount of friction for the pro-environmental practices. I would argue that only then business travellers who, on their way to turning attitudes into actual behaviour generally favour low friction over ERP, will become involved in the process towards more sustainable business travel. It is unlikely that a majority of business travellers, while away from home in a stressful environment, will actively choose to increase ‘friction’ in an effort to become more environmentally friendly, and hence the efforts of hotels, employers and governments to make the environmental alternative the most frictionless option should be seen as a starting point.

9.5.2 Recommendations

This thesis is written based on the understanding that the practice of flying is currently an inherently unsustainable practice, making the meta-practice of business travel similarly unsustainable. Business travel, however, is embedded in the globalized and (largely) capitalist world that we live in, and to recommend that business travel should stop or radically reduce in volume would be highly utopian at present. I will leave proposals for a radical change in the capitalist system and globalized economy to others. It is indeed questionable if business travel, and air travel in general, could exist in its current shape if a deep-green approach to sustainability would be adopted. I, therefore, recommend that there is major scope for change within the current economic system, and that with small structural and behavioural changes, through collective actions from collaborating actors, real change can be achieved at great scale. As mentioned in the previous section, I propose that hotels, business travellers’ employers and governments have an important duty to initiate changes in existing structures. Structural changes are most likely to take place if several actor groups embrace change simultaneously.

As discussed above and in Chapter 8, hotels have opportunities to change structures, which might increase the uptake of pro-environmental practices amongst business travellers. Major

hotel chains are some of the largest companies in the world⁵⁵, and they have the potential to encourage, educate, and involve their guests and employees. Although hotel guests have a role to play in embedding pro-environmental practices in hotel structures, individual business and leisure travellers are much less likely to change their practices, if hotels are not willing to change the structures that inhibit pro-environmental practices. Similarly, and as discussed above, it is unlikely for hotel staff to become involved, and be compliant with, CSR practices if they are not compensated for the additional pressure this might place on them.

Hotels are in a strong position to contribute to making the uptake of pro-environmental practices more prevalent in ‘away’ environments. Some, arguably more innovative, approaches could be considered which would involve guests more in hotels’ commitments to enhance environmental sustainability. One example of an innovative practice that received widespread media attention in 2010 was implemented by the Crowne Plaza hotel in Copenhagen, Denmark. The hotel encourages its guests to cycle on electricity-generating bikes in the gym. When 10 kWh of power is generated, guests are provided with a free meal in the hotel restaurant (Robbins, 2010). While this seems by and large a PR stunt, especially since 10 kWh is a comparatively small number in regards to the average consumption of energy in hotels⁵⁶, it could have educational purposes as it shows guests how much energy goes into generating electricity.

As an alternative to placing energy-generating bikes in the gym, London hotels could also provide hotel guests with a membership card for the ‘Boris Bikes’ or an Oyster card, and complementary top-up, to use on the extensive public transport system and as an alternative to taxis. In places where driving a personal car is more common, docking stations for electric vehicles could be provided to guests. All these practices can reduce the friction for travellers who are looking for convenient and environmentally friendly ways to travel around London, and can lead to considerable time savings for the traveller during rush hour.

Hotels could furthermore make better use of new technologies – and people’s interest in these new technologies – to involve guests in their CSR practices. For example, hotel rooms could be equipped with touch pads, or guests could be provided with a tablet, which can

⁵⁵ For example, Table 5.1 (Chapter 5) shows that Marriott’s revenue for 2010 was almost US\$ 12 billion.

⁵⁶ The average energy consumption per hotel room per day is between 15 and 90 kWh.

provide different services to the guest. At a rudimentary level it could provide access to a concierge service, which would reduce the need for printed brochures and information packs in hotel bedrooms. Further, it could also provide guests with information about the energy and water consumption of the hotel room they are staying in, thereby motivating them to reduce their usage. In Chapter 6 it was discussed how some travellers were looking for recognition and praise for their change in behaviour, and while further research is needed to establish the importance of praise in the uptake of pro-environmental practices, tablets and touch pads can communicate large amounts of information in a convenient manner. Digital pedometers such as 'Fitbits' could also be provided to encourage guests to walk and take stairs rather than the elevator. With interest groups such as the Quantified Self movement ever growing in popularity (Swan, 2012; The Economist, 2012), providing guests with such 'gadgets' and information about their energy and water usage would not only sets a hotel apart from its competitors, but could enhance guest satisfaction while reducing energy and water consumption. Guests' participation could, furthermore, be coupled to the rate they pay for their stay, to a discount they receive at checkout, or to other benefits. Hotels could consider offering lower rates, extra loyalty points, upgrades or free meals to guests who consume less water and energy than a predetermined benchmark. Further research is needed to determine which practices get guests involved and make them change their behaviour, and how these practices should be pitched to guests for higher take-up rates. Some interesting research warns that certain environmental practices can actually encourage other environmentally damaging practices (Catlin & Wang, 2013; Mazar et al., 2008; Mazar & Zhong, 2010). One example of this is recycling, with recycling facilities possibly leading to individuals producing more waste (Catlin & Wang, 2013). Innovative research by Wan and Chan (2013) furthermore shows that white products are linked to moral behaviour and black products are linked to amoral behaviour, although these findings could be seen as culturally specific. As I would argue, the meaning of colours is different between cultures, and further research is needed to determine how different cultures perceive different colours. Nevertheless, these studies should be considered when determining how innovative practices can be implemented and become successful.

Next to hotel management, travellers' employers also have the opportunity to support the uptake of pro-environmental practices from their travelling employees. Business codes and sustainability policies are a good way to inform employees about environmental policies and expectations of behaviour, and efforts could be undertaken to involve employees more in the formulation, evaluation and monitoring of these expectations. Discussions in Chapter 7 and 8, furthermore, suggested that model behaviour has an influence of travellers' behaviour,

which means that companies can influence their employees' practices when they are away on travels. By particularly educating senior members of travel parties on pro-environmental practices, and by having them model this behaviour to other members of the travel party, business travellers could be influenced to carry out more pro-environmental practices.

Many companies that send employees on business trips will be using CSR practices to promote how responsible they are to stakeholders. It may be that attempting to support pro-environmental practices *away from the office* has not made it into the list of considerations for CSR policies and practices yet. However, for those companies which are genuinely intent on reducing their environmental impact, more can be done to support pro-environmental practices from travelling employees. Video-conferencing is often proposed as an alternative to travelling, and while I mentioned in Chapter 7 that this might be a good alternative in particular situations and for specific meetings, it seems impossible to completely substitute travelling and face-to-face meetings. As discussed in this thesis, however, there are policies which can be implemented to further support employees to carry out pro-environmental practices while on their travels. I have discussed how the interviewed travellers perceived that the current expectations from employers often inhibited such practices. Next to attempting to reduce air travel, through video-conferencing or more efficient scheduling, travellers could be encouraged to consider the environmental credentials of the hotels they book or be encouraged to take public transportation to reduce their environmental impact and enhance the environmental performance of the company.

Finally, governments have opportunities through legislation, regulations and covenants to encourage companies to change their structures. Although I have made little mention of governments throughout this thesis, it should be noted that local, national and trans-national government bodies play an important role in informing, educating and encouraging individuals and companies to adopt more environmentally sustainable practices. As the Commission on Sustainable Consumption (Jackson & Michaelis, 2003) has argued, consumers are locked into their consumption practices, and governments have the responsibility to influence technology, market design, media, and institutional structures to change these consumption patterns. In the case of business travel, this means that governments should work together with hotel companies, travel agencies, NGOs, certification bodies, and companies that procure large amounts of flights. They may well be best placed to call together round tables with multiple stakeholders and instigate a collaborative approach to making business travel, both related to flights and the *in situ* footprint, a more environmentally sustainable meta-practice at the institutional level.

At present, local and national governments are increasingly using their taxation and legislative powers to promote environmentally friendly and sustainable behaviour amongst the business community, for example through stricter building regulations and CO₂ emissions trading schemes. A continued focus from government institutions on discourse, underpinned by taxations and legislation, should incentivise sustainability and long-term thinking in the industries that support business travel. There are some examples of the influence government can have on business practices, such as the ever stricter building regulations, which encourage hotel companies to build more sustainable hotels (e.g. IHG, 2013; Premier Inn, 2010). Governments also use their agency to implement regulations which reduce the pollution emitted by different modes of transportation used by business travellers. Since 2012, airlines have been included in the European Union's Emissions Trading Scheme which curbs their emissions allowances (European Commission, 2014), and the Mayor of London has launched a number of programmes in recent years to reduce pollution and encourage alternative modes of transportation. In 2010, a bike hire scheme was introduced which currently consists of 10,000 bikes (Transport for London, 2014), since 2012 all new London buses have hybrid diesel-electric engines (Mayor of London, 2009), in January 2014 the Mayor outlined his plans for all taxis to become zero emissions capable by 2018 (Wilkinson, 2014), and in 2016 a car sharing scheme with 3000 electric cars will be rolled out across the city (The Telegraph, 2014). His critics, however, argue that this is not fast enough and not far-reaching enough, which is often voiced criticism of incentives by governments (see e.g. the Red Tape Challenge by the UK government: www.redtapechallenge.cabinetoffice.gov.uk). Therefore, governments' regulations alone can hardly make business travel completely environmentally sustainable, but these examples do show that a continued focus on improving sustainability discourses and legislation can offer individual travellers more environmentally friendly alternatives.

9.6 Reflexivity, limitations, and further research

9.6.1 Reflections

While in the following section I will focus on pointing out a number of limitations and indicate some of the ongoing and outstanding research challenges, I will first briefly reflect on the influence of my personal knowledge and previous work experience in the hospitality industry on the discussions in this thesis. As explained in Chapter 4.6.2, I had prior experience of working in a hotel before starting this PhD. My experiences of working six months in the housekeeping department of a 4-star hotel prior to starting my PhD provided

me with additional insights that were used during the writing of this thesis. Reflecting on the discussions in the previous chapters, my personal experience with working conditions in a housekeeping department are particularly visible in Chapter 5, where I discuss how hotel staff is impacted by the implementation of CSR practices. During my time working in a hotel, which included both cleaning rooms myself and supervising others, it became clear to me how strenuous the work of housekeepers is. While many interviewed hotel managers argued that their staff were simply not interested in carrying out CSR practices, I was able to relate to my personal experiences, realizing that a possible reason for this ‘disinterest’ could be the already strenuous job hotel staff is carrying out. This can further be triangulated with the facts about the hospitality industry having some of the lowest-paid and most precarious workers. Hence, in Chapter 5.5 I discuss how hotel head offices should consider how they are treating their employees, and reflect on how the implementation of CSR practices results in an added workload for their employees. This discussion was largely based on my own experiences.

On the one hand, my experience of working in the hospitality industry was definitely a benefit for the research, helping me to contextualise the discussions on the implementation of CSR practices in hotels. On the other hand, it might have impacted my objectivity towards the hotel managers’ arguments. In the interviews with business travellers I had no experience of travelling for work myself. This meant that the discussions were heavily reliant on the information provided by my interviewees, and being critical about their insights was more challenging. My lack of experience with travelling for work, however, often worked in my favour during the data collection. Many travellers asked me if I had personal experience of business travel, and continued to explain their experiences in more detail after I acknowledged that I had never travelled for work. What was also important was that, as a white man in his late 20s in a suit, I had little problems blending in with other business travellers (who were frequently male and white) during observation sessions. Despite my difficulties in accessing business travellers, it seems likely that these problems would have been worse if my positionality had been different. Further, speaking fluent English with a non-native speaker accent created additional rapport with some of the business travellers who were themselves non-native speakers who needed to speak English for business.

9.6.2 Limitations and further research

A limitation of research into business travellers’ behaviour in hotels, although providing interesting findings and discussions, is that business travellers are only one group of hotel

guests. Although they are an important group for many hotels, hotels will also need to cater for leisure guests. The situation becomes even more complicated when considering that business travellers can be expected to be involved in leisurely activities during their stay, or the business trip can turn into a leisure trip after work duties are completed. I have used the case of business travellers to discuss how hotels should consider the ‘friction’ of CSR practices. While it can be expected that leisure travellers, like business travellers, will partake in more CSR practices if there is less friction, further research is needed to test the importance of friction for leisure travellers to participate in CSR practices. Leisure travellers are often on less stressful schedules and, hence, might be willing and able to spend more time on participating in CSR practices, although some literature suggests that they may not want to engage with such practices because they try to ‘get away from it all’ (Barr et al., 2010; Caruana & Crane, 2011). Testing these contrasting hypotheses would provide the hospitality industry with further knowledge of the importance of ‘friction’ more generally.

Other limitations of the empirical research related to the sample of hotels that was used. The sample of hotel managers was recruited in London, and to further research the implementation of CSR practices in the hotel industry it would be interesting to include other types of hotels, like resorts, and from a range of geographical locations, including from countries where there is less (or more) environmental awareness and legislation. In this thesis, however, I only focused on London hotels, with a sample of 198 hotels. Central London certainly has more than 198 hotels, but in this study only these officially accredited hotels were considered for participation. Although this means that the sample is not representative of all hotels in London, the intention of this research was not to generalize findings for the entire London hotel market. Instead, the main aim of the interviews with hotel managers was to explore hotel managers’ views on business travellers, and to hear from hotel managers how business travellers behaved in their hotel.

Recruiting hotel managers was a serious challenge, and in the end 22 hotel managers of these 198 hotels were interviewed. The majority of these managers worked in hotels with at the least some CSR practices, as they were more willing to share their experiences than those working in hotels with no or very limited CSR practices. This unavoidably resulted in a slightly skewed sample. Hotel managers would generally want to know what the research was about before agreeing to participate, and to ensure that I attracted the right staff member (those that were in charge of the hotel’s sustainability), I was forced to reveal that my interviews would be about business travellers and sustainability. This information seemed to dissuade those hotel managers that worked in hotels with limited CSR practices from

participation. This resulted in a sample of hotels which, again, is not representative of the entire London hotel industry. For this thesis it has nevertheless provided an insight into CSR practices implemented by the more proactive hotels. More extensive research which consists of a larger sample and includes more hotels with limited CSR practices is needed, however, to make stronger claims which would be more generalizable for the London hotel industry. There will, however, be the remaining challenge of how to incentivise representatives of hotels with limited CSR practices to participate.

The seniority of the interviewed hotel staff is a final point of consideration regarding the first research stage. Interviews in hotels were all undertaken with staff in (higher) management. This allowed for a discussion of hotels' CSR practices and perceptions of business travellers' behaviour. While some comments about employee involvement were made in Chapter 5, it would be beneficial and interesting to further research the impact of CSR practices on junior staff members. Given that changes in CSR practices – for example the introduction of in-room recycling facilities – would most likely impact on housekeeping staff, it would be worth exploring their perspective. Furthermore, housekeeping staff often comes from foreign countries, where English is not the first language, and with differing levels of environmental awareness and concern. Investigating how national and cultural backgrounds affect the ability to educate these employees would be of great interest. These unanswered questions are particularly relevant in an area where not just environmental, but also social sustainability is at stake, given that housekeeping staff hold some of the lowest paid and most precarious jobs in the hospitality industry.

There are also a couple of points for further consideration which relate to the sample of interviewed business travellers. Due to the relatively small sample of the research, the effect of travellers' demographics, including gender, could not be systematically explored in the analysis of the collected data. Chapter 6 discusses how some female travellers had different attitudes to travelling than the majority of male travellers, but further research with a larger sample is needed to establish whether gender indeed influences business travellers' attitudes to the travelling lifestyle. Furthermore, it is argued that gender influences the uptake of ethical and pro-environmental practices (e.g. Han et al., 2009; O'Fallon & Butterfield, 2005), but no evidence for this was found in my sample.

In addition to gender, the nationality of travellers was not considered in the analysis of travellers' attitudes to travelling or the perception of ERP due to the small sample. O'Fallon and Butterfield (2005: 391) reviewed 25 studies that investigated a possible link between

nationality and ethical behaviour, and found that “nationality appears to influence ethical decision-making”. There is a possible link between cultural attitudes and social norms regarding social and environmental issues, but the extent of this link is still unclear. This would be worth exploring further in future research. Similarly, a review of 21 studies by O’Fallon and Butterfield (2005) found that there is not enough evidence for a link between age and ethical decision-making. Due to the exploratory nature and small sample of this thesis, these demographic factors have not been considered in this thesis, but could have an impact on business travellers’ attitudes to travelling and carrying out ERP. This thesis has focused on finding commonalities amongst a sample of business travellers to investigate the status quo of ERP and to reflect on possible changes which could enhance the uptake of pro-environmental practices. To establish whether gender, nationality, or age have an impact on ERP, further research will need to be undertaken with sampling methods that target different demographics.

There are, furthermore, some interesting research challenges which were outside the scope of this thesis. In Chapter 8 I discussed how structures could be changed through collective and collaborative action. I am aware of the possibility, however, that business travellers chose not to change their practices, because they did not actually want to change the structures that helped them cope with the strains of travelling (as was discussed in Chapter 7). The structures support their current practices at the micro-level, but at the macro-level also support the globalized capitalist system which arguably provides them with their current job and lifestyle. Further research is needed to investigate whether and how travellers perceive such macro-structures and their rigidity.

A final proposal for further research, relates to the finding that none of the interviewed travellers knew of their company having any travel-related CSR policies. Further research could focus on recruiting business travellers from companies that do have such policies (when and if such companies exist), to research the influence of these policies on travellers’ *in situ* practices. It could, furthermore, be argued that there is a need for further research to better understand whether business travellers would want more CSR policies that support pro-environmental practices at the travel destination, and whether and how they would respond to such policies. From there, recommendations could be developed on incentive systems which encourage the uptake of pro-environmental practices.

9.7 Concluding remarks

It is hard to imagine a contemporary world without global trade, multinational corporations, and international travel. With business travel set to increase in the future, but discussions of the environmental impact of human behaviour also becoming increasingly prevalent, it is important that research is undertaken at the intersection of business travel and environmental sustainability. This thesis has focused on business travellers' *in situ* practices, to examine the current status of ERP within the meta-practice of business travel. The business travellers that took part in this study were generally highly educated and well-travelled. This provided them with considerable knowledge of issues like climate change and environmental destruction, but it also placed them in a predicament about their own practices. Many business travellers were interested in discussions of the human impact on the environment, and were willing to change certain practices, but generally felt limited to changing practices in the home environment. As the impacts of climate change are becoming more apparent around the world, and the pressure on, or encouragement for, individuals to change their practices will grow, it will become increasingly important to understand how constructive 'home' practices of individuals can be transferred to 'away' environments.

This thesis has discussed and provided a focus on particular aspects of business travel which could be changed, so that individual travellers can take up more environmentally-friendly practices. I have discussed how alternatives to the meta-practice of business travel, such as video conferencing, can and probably will become more influential in the near future, but the interviewed travellers also argued that business travel will not completely cease to exist. There are, however, many changes that can be made to business travel which can transform it into a more sustainable meta-practice. It is time for more creative approaches to the slightly staid ideas around how business travel is to be performed, and how sustainability and CSR are conceived. In section 9.5.2 some innovative ideas around hotel CSR practices were proposed, and it was discussed how travellers' employers and governments (could) use their agency to increase the opportunities for business travellers to make environmentally friendly choices.

While this thesis has provided evidence which shows that business travellers would welcome several CSR practices in hotels if they would reduce friction, many hotels can be expected to continue implementing only those CSR practices which save money, rather than fully integrating sustainability into their business strategy. There is a fear of backlash when

promoting their CSR practices, because they might be seen as ‘greenwashing’. This is a rather dated approach to CSR, and an obsolete concern to those businesses that manage to align their sustainability policies clearly into their core business and branding strategy. As Vogel (2005: 33) points out, “the risks associated with CSR are no different than those associated with any other business strategy; sometimes investments in CSR make business sense and sometimes they do not. Why should we expect investment in CSR to consistently create shareholder value when virtually no other business investments or strategies do so?” The success or benefits of hotels’ CSR practices should not be measured as the direct monetary gains, but rather as the positive effects these practices have on the natural environment and local community, the effects on guest satisfaction, and the educational value that they provide to staff and guests. Hotels, and other actor groups, should not downplay the responsibility they have in ‘greening’ business travel practices, but instead collaborate on a more sustainable future. A concerted multi-stakeholder effort is needed.

To summarize, this thesis has shown that:

- Different actor groups downplay their own agency and expect others to act;
- The actor groups included in this research need to learn about their own agency;
- Governments, employers and hotels have a responsibility to initiate changes to currently existing structures, so as to make business travel more sustainable;
- Individual travellers can only be expected to change their behaviour if pro-environmental alternatives are made the options which result in the least amount of friction. If this is achieved, many business travellers can be expected to change their behaviour, which can ultimately lead to changes to structures.

Only if and when different actors start working together towards a common goal, true progress can be made to make business travel a more environmentally and socially sustainable meta-practice. This thesis has provided examples of CSR practices which will enable and encourage, rather than inhibit, hotel guests to reflect on their current practices and to adopt more pro-environmental practices when away from home. This is hoped to be a first step towards a more sustainable future.

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APPENDIX A: HOTEL SELECTION AND SATISFACTION CRITERIA

Author(s) and year	Amount and type of travellers; research method	Geographical focus	Satisfaction factors
Ananth, DeMicco, Moreo & Howey (1992)	222 alumni of Pennsylvania State University; self-completed questionnaire	USA	Travellers over 59: good value for money; well-lit public areas, restaurants, garages; in-room temperature control mechanism; location; price. Travellers under 59: good value for money; in-room temperature control mechanism; location; price; well-lit public areas, restaurants, garages.
Atkinson (1988)	200 leisure and business guests; self-completed questionnaire	51 Days Inn properties in USA	Feel safe and secure in hotel; convenient location; everything is done 'first class'; feel comfortable telling others I stay here; room is good value for money; restaurant is good value for money; free parking; fast, efficient check-in and check-out.
Barsky & Labagh (1992)	100 leisure and business guests; survey of guest comment cards	1000-room hotel, down-town San Francisco	Employee attitude; location; room; price; facilities; reception; services; parking; food and beverages.
Cadotte & Turgeon (1988)	260 lodging executives; self-completed questionnaire	USA	Most complaints: price of room, meals and other services; speed of service; quality of service; availability of parking; employee knowledge and service. Most compliments: helpful attitude of employees; cleanliness; neatness; quality of service; employee knowledge and service.
Callan & Kyndt (2001)	160 business travellers; self-completed questionnaire	Hotel in Brussels (Belgium) and hotel in Manchester (England)	Comfort of bed; quietness; convenient location; quality/price paid; efficient front desk; hotel security; room security; courteous, well-mannered and friendly staff.
Callan (1998)	6 interviews with hotel managers; 6 focus groups with consumers; 289 self-completed questionnaires	UK	Travellers considering star rating: clean bathroom; bathroom maintenance; bedroom maintenance; towels; availability of private bathroom. Travellers not considering star rating: availability of private bathroom; clean bathroom; towels; cleanliness; polite staff.

Chan & Wong (2006)	573 frequent travellers (323 travelled for business); self-completed questionnaire	Hong Kong	Convenient location and good service. Business travellers: previous experience, good service, convenience, company recommendation.
Chu & Choi (2000)	343 international travellers (170 business travellers); self-completed questionnaire	Hong Kong International Airport	Business travellers: room is clean; international direct dial service is available; hotel location is convenient; staff understands your requests; staff are helpful; hotel check-in/check-out service are efficient; staff provide efficient services.
Cobanoglu, Corbaci, Moreo & Ekinici (2003)	612 members of The Turkish Businesspeople Association; self-completed survey	Turkey	Service; price and value; security; extra amenities; technology; room comfort; food and beverage; complimentary goods; parking; location; health sensitivity; single sensitivity. More important to women: security More important to men: food and beverage; complimentary goods; parking; health sensitivity.
Dubé & Renaghan (2000)	194 travel agents and 123 meeting planners; semi-structured interviews	USA	Asked to report on the most important attributes driving their value perceptions regarding hotels: Travel agents: convenient location; value for money; communication with intermediary; brand name and reputation; deals and incentives for intermediaries. Meeting planners: convenient location; quality of functional services; quality of interpersonal services; communication with intermediary.
Griffin, Shea & Weaver (1996)	1044 business travellers; self-completed questionnaires	USA	Discriminating mid-range from luxury: low price; family restaurant; pre-arranged check-in. Discriminating luxury from mid-range: bellman service; concierge service; gourmet restaurant; bathrobe; hair dryer.
Gundersen, Heide & Olsson (1996)	375 business travellers; self-completed questionnaire	4 hotels in Norway	Availability of room at check-in; availability of room during stay; receptionist's willingness to provide service; receptionist's accuracy in registration; overall satisfaction with housekeeping department.
Knutson (1988)	1853 leisure and business travellers	USA	Clean/comfortable room; convenient location; safety and security; prompt, courteous service; friendliness; room rates.

Lewis & Chambers (2000)	Focus on business travellers; Cites findings from the 1998 National Business Monitor (Yankelovich Partners Inc.)	USA	Influencing hotel choice: previous experience; location; reputation; recommendation of friend/associate; price. Attributes considered desirable: cleanliness; friendly, efficient service; safety; no phone access charges; non-smoking rooms; discount for advance reservations.
Lewis & Pizam (1981)	Cites findings from 1979 Profile of the Profitable Guest (New York: Time)	USA	Importance of facilities: bed; friendly hotel staff; bathroom; professional hotel staff; safety/security; towels; housekeeping services; price.
Lewis (1984)	1314 leisure and business guests (77% business)	6 hotels in USA	Location; reservation system; food and beverage quality; hotel for women travelling alone. More important for women: reputation of hotel; building aesthetics; quality assurance; modernity and contemporariness of hotel. More important for men: food and beverages prices. Note: travellers that chose the hotel themselves were more positive on all aspects of the hotel than travellers that did not have a choice.
Lockyer (2002)	274 business travellers and 287 hotel managers; self-completed questionnaire	New Zealand	Business guests: cleanliness of hotel; bathroom and shower quality; standard of bedroom maintenance; comfort of mattress and pillow; courteous, polite, well mannered staff. Hotel managers: cleanliness of hotel; courteous, polite, well mannered staff; enthusiasm, and commitment of staff; efficiency of front desk; good reputation of hotel/motel.
Lockyer (2005)	42 travellers; four focus groups	New Zealand	Location; price; facilities; cleanliness.
Lutz & Ryan (1993)	12 female business travellers and 138 leisure and business guests; interviews and self-completed questionnaire respectively	Birmingham, UK	Female toiletries; adequate hanging space; secure parking.
Mattila (1999)	139 business executives; questionnaires providing 10 scenarios to research the importance of physical environment versus the service dimension.	Singapore	Most important: in-room faxing equipment, room-service; Least important: personal recognition from staff. Overall, physical environment more important than service dimension.

McCleary, Weaver & Lan (1994)	250 members of Travel Smart magazine; self-completed questionnaire	USA	More important for men than women: business services and facilities (fax machines and suites). More important for women than men: security facilities; personal services (room service); low price.
McCleary, Weaver & Hutchinson (1993)	433 members of Corporate Meetings and Incentives magazine; self-completed questionnaire	USA	Important: Hotel and airline frequent flyer program; banquet facilities; copy machine; mattress/pillows; towels/washcloths; meeting facilities. Determinants: Banquet facilities; location.
Mehta & Vera (1990)	194 business and leisure guests (64 business); self-completed questionnaire	5-star hotel in Singapore	Clean rooms and other areas; hotel security; overall service; convenient location; check-in service; quality of room furniture/decor; reservation facilities.
Nightingale (1985)	Different studies with business travellers (does not go into specifics)	UK	Clean; comfortable; 'feel at home'; helpful staff; leisurely; quiet; spacious.
Saleh & Ryan (1992)	145 leisure and business guests at western 4-star chain hotel; self-completed questionnaire	Canadian hotel	Important factors: comfort of bed; convenient location; prompt service; food value; clean rooms; quiet stay; friendly staff; safe hotel; professionalism; overall value; needs of guests; restaurant available; interior decor; convenient parking. Determinants: restaurant available; interior decor; convenient parking; exterior aesthetics; quiet stay; overall value.
Sammons, Moreo, Benson & DeMicco (1999)	434 members of the National Association of Female Executives; self-completed questionnaire	USA	Cleanliness of hotel; comfortable mattress and pillows; individual room smoke detectors; dead bolt door locks; chain locks/latches; parking area lighting.
Taninecz (1990)	Business travellers	USA	Cleanliness; comfortable mattress and pillows; quality bath towels and wash towels; no surcharge long-distance telephone calls.
Tunstall (1989)	210 female business travellers; self-completed questionnaire	United Kingdom	Room amenities (hair dryer, iron, peepholes); security; service (should be the same as men).
Watkins (2003)	1000 hotel guests	USA	Business travellers: hotel location; nightly room rate; previous experience; value for the price; reputation of hotel/chain.
Weaver & Oh (1993)	433 subscribers of magazine Corporate Meetings and Incentives; self-completed questionnaire	USA	Cleanliness; comfortable mattresses and pillows; good quality towels; convenient to your business; no surcharge for long distance calls; on-premise parking.

Wilensky & Buttle (1988)	260 leisure and business guests; self-completed questionnaires	Holiday Inn, London Heathrow	Room and bath cleanliness; professionalism of staff; friendliness and courtesy of staff.
Xue & Cox (2008)	497 members of the Zhe Jiang Chamber of Commerce; self completed questionnaire	China	Front desk services; image; security; common facilities; bathrooms; work environment facilities.
Yavas & Babakus (2003)	500 business and leisure travellers; self-completed questionnaire	Southeast of USA, Holiday Inn visitors	Business: Cleanliness of bathroom; cleanliness of room; room amenities in working condition; bed comfort; security/safety; express check-in/out; ease of adjusting room temperature. Leisure: cleanliness of room; cleanliness of bathroom; room amenities in working condition; security/safety; room rates.

APPENDIX B: LIST OF LONDON HOTELS

Below is a list composed from the domestic English website of Visit Britain. Initially a list of 366 accommodation providers was composed, by searching the keyword ‘London’ in the accommodation search, and setting the radius at 5 miles. Afterwards, the results were further filtered to 199 hotels by checking the box ‘hotel’ (<http://www.enjoyengland.com>, final access on May 24, 2010).

5-star hotels	
51 Buckingham Gate	London Marriot Hotel County Hall
Andaz Liverpool Street	London Marriot Hotel Park Lane
Athenaeum Hotel and Apartments	London Marriot West India Quay
Bentley Kempinski,	Mandarin Oriental Hyde Park
Berkeley, The	May Fair Hotel, The
Brown’s Hotel	Metropolitan, The
Capital, The	Milestone Hotel, The
Claridge’s	No. 41
Connaught Hotel, The	One Aldwych
Dorchester, The	Plaza on the River – Club & Residence
Draycott Hotel	Radisson Edwardian Hampshire Hotel
Dukes Hotel	Renaissance Chancery Court London
Egerton House, The	Ritz Hotel, The
Four Seasons Hotel Canary Wharf	Royal Garden Hotel
Goring, The	Royal Horseguards, The
Grange City Hotel	Sheraton Park Tower
Grosvenor House	Sofitel St. James
Halkin, The	St James’s Hotel and Club
Hyatt Regency London – The Churchill	Stafford Hotel
InterContinental Park Lane	Swissotel The Howard, London
Jumeirah Carlton Tower	Threadneedles – The City’s Boutique
Landmark London, The	Westbury, The
Langham, The	Wyndham Grand London Chelsea Harbour

4-star hotels	
Academy, The	London Hilton on Park Lane
Apex City of London	London Marriott Hotel Grosvenor Square
Beauchamp, The	London Marriott Hotel Kensington
Beaufort, The	London Marriott Hotel Maida Vale
Buckingham, The	London Marriott Hotel Marble Arch
Cadogan Hotel, The	London Marriott Hotel Regents Park
Caesar Hotel, The	Mandeville Hotel, The
Cavendish, The	Melia White House
Chamberlain Hotel, The	Mercure London City Bankside

Charing Cross – a Guoman Hotel	Millennium & Copthorne Hotels at Chelsea Football Club
Chesterfield Mayfair, The	Millennium Bailey's Hotel London
City Inn Westminster	Millennium Gloucester Hotel London
Clarendon, The	Millennium Hotel London Knightsbridge
Colonnade, The – The Little Venice	Millennium Hotel London Mayfair
Copthorne Tara Hotel London	Montague on the Gardens, The
Cranley Hotel, The	Novotel London City South
Crowne Plaza Hotel London – Shoreditch	Novotel London Euston
Crowne Plaza London – Kensington	Novotel London Paddington
Crowne Plaza London – The City	Novotel London Tower Bridge
Crowne Plaza London St James	Novotel London Waterloo
Cumberland, The – a Guoman Hotel	Novotel London West
Danubius Hotel Regents Park	Park Plaza County Hall
Dorset Square Hotel, The (closed)	Portland, The
Durley House	Radisson Edwardian Berkshire Hotel
Grange Fitzrovia Hotel	Radisson Edwardian Grafton Hotel
Grange Holborn Hotel	Radisson Edwardian Kenilworth Hotel
Grange Langham Court Hotel	Radisson Edwardian Leicester Square
Grange Rochester Hotel	Radisson Edwardian Marlborough
Grange White Hall Hotel	Radisson Edwardian Mountbatten
H10 London Waterloo Hotel	Radisson Edwardian Providence Wharf
Harrington Hall	Radisson Edwardian Vanderbilt Hotel
Hilton London Canary Wharf	Radisson Blu Portman
Hilton London Docklands Riverside	Ramada London Hyde Park
Hilton London Euston	Riverbank Park Plaza
Hilton London Green Park	Royal Lancaster Hotel
Hilton London Hyde Park	Royal Park Hotel
Hilton London Islington	Rubens at the Palace, The
Hilton London Kensington	Sherlock Holmes Hotel
Hilton London Metropole	Thistle Bloomsbury
Hilton London Olympia	Thistle Euston
Hilton London Paddington	Thistle Hyde Park
Hilton London Tower Bridge	Thistle Marble Arch
Holiday Inn London – King's	Thistle Westminster
Holiday Inn London – Mayfair	Tower, The – a Guoman Hotel
Holiday Inn London – Regent's Park	Trafalgar, The
Hotel Indigo	Twenty Nevern Square
Hotel Russell	Victoria Park Plaza
K-West	Waldorf Hilton, The
Levin, The	Washington Mayfair Hotel, The
London Bridge Hotel	Zetter Hotel, The
3-star hotels	
Bedford Hotel	Holiday Inn London Bloomsbury
Bermondsey Square Hotel, The	Hotel Ibis London Earls Court

Best Western Burns Hotel	K + K Hotel George
Best Western Lodge Hotel	London Lodge Hotel
Best Western Mostyn Hotel	Malmaison Charterhouse Square
Best Western Phoenix Hotel	Park Inn, Hyde Park
Best Western Swiss Cottage Hotel	Radisson Edwardian Sussex Hotel
Best Western The Cromwell	Strand Palace Hotel
Days Hotel London - Shoreditch	Thistle City Barbican
Enterprise Hotel	Thistle Piccadilly
Grange Blooms Town House Hotel	Thistle Trafalgar Square
Grange Strathmore Hotel, The	Umi Hotel London
Holiday Inn London – Oxford Circus	Waverley House Hotel

2-star hotels

All Seasons London Southwark Rose Hotel	Mitre House Hotel
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Budget hotels

Days Hotel London Hyde Park	Premier Inn London City (Tower Hill)
Days Hotel Waterloo	Premier Inn London County Hall
Days Inn – Westminster	Premier Inn London Euston
Express by Holiday Inn London – Earl's Court	Premier Inn London Hammersmith
Express by Holiday Inn London – Hammersmith	Premier Inn London Hampstead
Express by Holiday Inn London – Limehouse	Premier Inn London Kensington
Express by Holiday Inn London – Swiss Cottage	Premier Inn London Kensington (Olympia)
Express by Holiday Inn London – City	Premier Inn London Kings Cross St Pancras
Express by Holiday Inn London – Victoria	Premier Inn London Putney Bridge
Express by Holiday Inn London – Wandsworth	Premier Inn London Southwark
Express by Holiday Inn – Southwark	Premier Inn London Tower Bridge
Ibis London City	Premier Inn London Victoria
Ibis London Euston	

APPENDIX C: FACE-TO-FACE INTERVIEW GUIDES

Interview guide London hotel managers

Introduction
Thanks for offering me the opportunity to talk to you. I am a PhD candidate in Economic Geography at Royal Holloway, University of London. In my PhD studies, I focus on sustainability in the hospitality industry, researching links between hotels and business travellers.
In this interview I will focus on both your personal and your company's opinions. Please feel free to add anything that you feel is of interest, but is not asked by me. You are voluntarily participating in this interview, which means that you can skip any question. Please let me know when you feel uncomfortable answering a question. May I record this interview to jog my memory – it will not be made public.

General data
Name hotel:
Nr. of guest rooms:
Nr. and capacity of meeting rooms:
Parent company:
Position interviewee:
Time employed in company:

Sustainable tourism
1. How would you explain what sustainability means?
2. You sometimes hear the term 'sustainable tourist'. Does the 'sustainable tourist' exist, and what is in your opinion, the difference between a sustainable tourist and an unsustainable tourist?
3. Often, sustainable tourists are linked with backpacking, camping and local accommodations. Do you believe this to be true or could sustainable tourists stay in hotels?

Sustainability in the chain
4. Could you describe the relationship between the head office and this hotel?
5. How does the head office communicate its view on sustainability to this hotel?
6. Does the chain have a view on sustainability? If so, what is this view?
7. How does the hotel chain influence the implementation of sustainability policies in this hotel?

Sustainability in the hotel
8. What policies did the hotel implement to become more sustainable? <ul style="list-style-type: none">- If none, can you tell me why not?- If some, which? Why is there not a broader policy?- If there is a broad policy, why was it decided to develop this?
9. Are there particular rules or expectations which guide your hotel's implementation of sustainability practices?
10. Is the hotel certified for its sustainability practices?
11. Is there any data that supports either positive or negative changes in costs when sustainability policies were implemented? Could you give an example?

Sustainability and the guest
12. Does your hotel provide guests with information about the sustainability policies of the hotel? If so, how?
13. What, if anything, do you expect the guests to do to be more sustainable?
14. I understand it is impossible to generalise about all the guests you welcome in your hotel. For this reason, are there different <u>expectations</u> from guests from different countries? Can you explain?
15. Do you see any differences in sustainable <u>behaviour</u> between guests from different countries?
16. Are there differences in behaviour between business guests and leisure guests?
17. Do you ask your guests for feedback after their stay? If yes, are any questions related to

sustainability?

18. Are there signs from individual guests that sustainability is wanted or respected? Can you give an example of guest feedback on the sustainability policies?

Business travel and the hotel

19. How important are corporate clients for the hotel? Could you maybe give a percentage of hotel rooms used by corporations?
20. Does the hotel offer corporate clients any incentives or loyalty schemes? Can you give an example
21. In what countries are the corporations you deal with headquartered?
22. Does the hotel attract corporations from a particular industry?
23. When corporations communicate with you, do they deal with you personally or does it go through business travel agencies?
24. Does your hotel receive requests from corporations about your sustainability policies? Could you give an example?
25. Does your hotel receive feedback from corporations about your sustainability policies? Could you give an example?

Sustainability and the employee

26. Is there any training or instructions for employees about sustainable policies in the hotel?
27. Do the employees have any possibility of influencing the sustainability policies in the hotel? Can you give examples?
28. Is there any data that supports either positive or negative changes in employee satisfaction when sustainability policies were implemented? Could you give an example?

Personal opinions

29. Are you as an employee affected by the implementation of sustainability policies?
30. What did the implementation of new policies/do the policies make you feel like?
31. Now some questions about business travellers. Here is a list with aspects that are argued to be important for business travellers. Based on your view of business travellers, could you rank these for me, 1 being the most important and 7 being the least.
- ☐ Facilities (meeting rooms, gym, pool etc.)
 - ☐ Location
 - ☐ Loyalty scheme
 - ☐ Quality of service (cleanliness of room, helpfulness of staff etc.)
 - ☐ Restful environment (silence, security and safety)
 - ☐ Sustainability
 - ☐ Value for money
32. Do you think corporations have or have not chosen your hotel because of your sustainability practices? Could you give an example?
33. Finally, there is a lot of talk about greenwashing (greenwashing is the deceptive use of green marketing, meaning companies claim they are green, but aren't behind the scenes). Do you think there are players in the hospitality industry that use tactics like these? Could you give an example?

Thanks

Thank you very much for giving up your time for this interview.

If you provide me with your business card/e-mail address, I can share my findings with you.

Interview guide business travellers

Important themes and questions that should be asked:

1. Feeling about travelling
 - Would you like to have more (or less) freedom to make decisions about airlines and hotels? Could you explain why? [*locus of choice*]
2. Hotel stays
 - Would your expectations change if you had to pay for a hotel stay? [*guest power*]
3. Sustainability at work
 - How important is it for you to know what the company does to be sustainable? [*personal and corporate ethics*]
4. Sustainability at home
5. Home-hotel behaviour

Demographic questions

All interviewees were asked to answer the following questions at the end of the interview:

Age range:

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> under 16 | <input type="checkbox"/> 45-54 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 16-24 | <input type="checkbox"/> 55-64 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 25-34 | <input type="checkbox"/> 65 or over |
| <input type="checkbox"/> 35-44 | |

Nationality: _____

Marital status:

- ☐ Single
☐ Cohabiting/Married/Civil partnership
☐ Divorced
☐ Widowed

People depending on your income: _____

How many business trips do you make per year (on average)? _____

How many nights is your average business trip?

Job title:

Industry:

Time employed with the company:

Highest level of education completed:

Current salary range:

- ☐ £ 0 to £ 25,000
☐ £ 25,001 to £ 50,000
☐ £ 50,001 to £ 75,000
☐ £ 75,001 to £ 100,000
☐ £ 100,001 to £200,000
☐ £200,001 to £500,000
☐ £500,001 and over

Interview guide company representatives

1. Could you explain what your job entails?
2. What is the core business of the company you work for?
3. How important is business travel for your company and (why) is travel needed?

Travel policy

4. Does your company have a travel policy? If yes, what does it discuss?
5. How does the company communicate its travel policies with the employees?
6. Do you think travellers find the travel policy useful and comply with it?

Booking a business trip

7. What processes do the employees go through to book a business trip?
8. What is your role in the booking process?
9. What feedback do you get from employees about the booking process?
10. How much freedom do employees have to choose their flight and hotel?
11. Does this depend on how senior they are?
12. Does your company have a contract with a travel agent for bookings? Which one?

Specifically about hotels

13. What are the star ratings of hotels that your employees stay in?
14. Does this depend on how senior they are?
15. Do you offer a list of company-approved hotels for employees to choose from? If yes, what criteria are used to approve a hotel to be on that list?
16. Do you send hotels questionnaires before committing to a contract? If yes, what questions do you ask the hotels?

Environmental sustainability

17. Does the company have any sustainability or CSR targets?
18. Are any of the targets related to business travel or service suppliers (i.e. hotels)?
19. What does the company (further) do to achieve these targets?
20. Have you noticed employees being interested in reducing their environmental impact, either in the office or during travels?
21. Is the environmental performance of the airline or hotel considered when choosing them?

APPENDIX D: LECS EXAMPLE TEMPLATES

LECS Policy & Documentation – General

Standard #7

Did the purchasing policy include annual targets for recycled/eco-friendly products and was there documentation to show that this is monitored?

Evaluation Requirements: Specific evidence to demonstrate/verify implementation should be at least:

- a) evidence of targeted goals related to identified eco-friendly products as a percentage of total purchased products, as identified in the previous criteria;
- b) evidence of attainment of goals based on evaluation requirements in the previous criteria, or if attainment has not been achieved statement of corrective action to take place for future target attainment;
- c) company procedures, written in present tense, that stipulate the requirements of this clause (policy) and the steps the company takes to implement it (procedures).

Evaluation Objective: To reduce environmental impacts by integrating ecological considerations into purchasing decisions.

Evidence of purchasing eco-friendly/recycled products

In the purchasing policy, annual targets are set to achieve ____% of total spending on eco-friendly and recycled products (as stated in standard #5).

Insert the following data in the table below: baseline year, and targeted spending on eco-friendly and recycled products, and actual spending on eco-friendly and recycled products for as many years as possible.

Year	Targeted spending on eco-friendly/recycled products as % of total spending	Actual spending on eco-friendly/recycled products as % of total spending
Example: 2009	5%	4.7%
Baseline:		

Corrective action will be taken any year when actual spending on eco-friendly and recycled products is lower than the targeted spending.

The following steps will be followed and documented:

1. Investigate the cause of missing the target and the corrective action needed to prevent recurrence. All work processes, records and reports will be analysed to detect and eliminate potential causes;
2. Initiate preventative action to deal with the problem;

3. Apply controls to ensure effective corrective action is taken;
4. Implement and record changes in procedures resulting from corrective action .

Please provide the following supporting documentation:

- Section of purchasing policy providing information on eco-friendly/recycled purchasing.
- Evidence of actual spending on eco-friendly/recycled products as claimed in above table.
- Explanation of corrective action taken when targets are not met (if applicable).

LECS Policy & Documentation – Community & Local Environment

Standard #33

Did the company have a policy against commercial, hiring and labor exploitation, including addressing children and adolescents, ethnic discrimination and sexual exploitation?

Evaluation Requirements: Specific evidence to demonstrate/verify implementation should be at least:

- a) policy that states the criteria mentioned in this clause (e.g. "(The name of company) does not discriminate based on ..."), including clear consequences; incorporation into training materials; This may also include awareness raising campaign, training and or monitoring materials;
- b) Documentation of legal minimum wage for country, state;
- c) a registrar of local employment laws (binder, website etc of applicable employment laws);
- d) attestation from company that it complies with all local and international labor standards;
- e) roster of all employees and their ages and nationality (sampling of which is verified during site audit);

Evaluation Objective: To support the protection of children and adolescents, women and minorities, who are particularly vulnerable to abusive labor practices, including sexual exploitation, both internally and through commercial relationships. Businesses and the private sector play a key role in ensuring the protection of local populations at destination by not buying products produced with child labor; not allowing use of tourism premises for sexual exploitation of minors and denouncing these practices to local authorities.

Community & Local Environment

Policy

(HOTEL NAME) is committed in promoting and sustaining its policy against commercial, hiring and labor exploitation, including addressing children and adolescents, ethnic discrimination and sexual exploitation.

Principles of this policy are incorporated in hotel's initiatives, collaborations, raising campaign. Furthermore, the hotel is engaged in transmitting this ethical principles to employees through the employees training material.

The hotel follows the guidelines of the standard SA 8000 based on international workplace norms:

1. Child Labor: No workers under the age of 15; minimum lowered to 14 for countries operating under the ILO Convention 138 developing-country exception; remediation of any child found to be working
2. Forced Labor: No forced labor, including prison or debt bondage labor; no lodging of deposits or identity papers by employers or outside recruiters
3. Health and Safety: Provide a safe and healthy work environment; take steps to prevent injuries; regular health and safety worker training; system to detect threats to health and

safety; access to bathrooms and potable water

4. Freedom of Association and Right to Collective Bargaining: Respect the right to form and join trade unions and bargain collectively; where law prohibits these freedoms, facilitate parallel means of association and bargaining
5. Discrimination: No discrimination based on race, caste, origin, religion, disability, gender, sexual orientation, union or political affiliation, or age; no sexual harassment
6. Discipline: No corporal punishment, mental or physical coercion or verbal abuse
7. Working Hours: Comply with the applicable law but, in any event, no more than 48 hours per week with at least one day off for every seven day period; voluntary overtime paid at a premium rate and not to exceed 12 hours per week on a regular basis; overtime may be mandatory if part of a collective bargaining agreement
8. Compensation: Wages paid for a standard work week must meet the legal and industry standards and be sufficient to meet the basic need of workers and their families; no disciplinary deductions
9. Management Systems: Facilities seeking to gain and maintain certification must go beyond simple compliance to integrate the standard into their management systems and practices.

Social Accountability 8000

SA8000 has been developed by Social Accountability International (SAI), in 2001. SAI is a non-profit affiliate of the Council on Economic Priorities (CEP).

SA8000 is promoted as a voluntary, universal standard for companies interested in auditing and certifying labour practices in their facilities and those of their suppliers and vendors. It is designed for independent third party certification.

SA8000 is based on the principles of international human rights norms. It measures the performance of companies in eight key areas: child labour, forced labour, health and safety, free association and collective bargaining, discrimination, disciplinary practices, working hours and compensation. SA8000 also provides for a social accountability management system to demonstrate ongoing conformance with the standard.

For more information visit the website: <http://www.sa-intl.org/>.

Please provide evidence of the following documentations:

- Documentation of legal minimum wage for country, state;
- a registrar of local employment laws (binder, website etc of applicable employment laws);
- attestation from company that it complies with all local and international labor standards;
- roster of all employees and their ages and nationality (sampling of which is verified during site audit) (*see standard 32*)

APPENDIX E: ONLINE QUESTIONNAIRE

WIN A £50 AMAZON VOUCHER

Do you travel for business?

For 10 minutes of your time, you can **WIN A £50 AMAZON VOUCHER** and support my PhD research.



Hi, my name is Wouter Geerts, and I'm doing research for my PhD at Royal Holloway, University of London.

I want to find out how business travellers feel about the hotels they stay in when travelling for work. My research focuses specifically on London, but even if you have never been to London, I would still greatly appreciate your input. This is not market research, but academic work which anybody will be able to access for free.

This questionnaire will take no more than 10 minutes to complete, and if you provide your e-mail address at the end, you will be eligible to win a £50 Amazon voucher.

All the information you provide will be handled with care, and will be entirely anonymised. You can skip any question you are not entirely happy to answer, but do please complete the questionnaire and submit it. If you are concerned about any aspect of the questionnaire, please contact me on the e-mail address provided below.

Thank you very much!

Wouter Geerts
w.geerts@rhul.ac.uk

TRAVELLING FOR WORK

In three words, could you describe your feelings about travelling for work?

1. [Textbox]
2. [Textbox]
3. [Textbox]

Have you ever stayed in a hotel in London for business purposes?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

What's your job title? [Textbox]

Which industry/sector do you work in? [Textbox]

How many business trips do you take per year (on average)? [Textbox]

How many nights is your average business trip? [Textbox]

STAYING IN HOTELS

What standard of accommodation do you normally stay at when travelling for business?
(You can give more than one answer):

- ☐ 5-star hotels
- ☐ 4-star hotels
- ☐ 3-star hotels
- ☐ 2-star hotels
- ☐ 1-star or budget hotels
- ☐ Bed and breakfast
- ☐ Serviced apartments
- ☐ Hostels
- ☐ Other (please specify): [Textbox]

Which hotel facilities do you use on a regular basis when travelling for work? (You can give more than one answer):

- ☐ None
- ☐ Room service
- ☐ Gym
- ☐ Swimming pool
- ☐ Spa
- ☐ Breakfast buffet
- ☐ Restaurant facilities (in hotel)
- ☐ Laundry and dry-cleaning
- ☐ Wi-Fi
- ☐ Other (please specify): [Textbox]

Assuming your company covers the cost, how important are the following criteria to **you** when staying in a hotel/accommodation?

- Value for money [Likert scale]
- Facilities (meeting rooms, Wi-Fi, gym, etc.) [Likert scale]
- Location [Likert scale]
- Loyalty scheme [Likert scale]
- Sustainability policies (towel and linen reuse programmes, etc.) [Likert scale]
- Quality of service (cleanliness of room, friendliness of staff) [Likert scale]
- Restful and safe environment [Likert scale]

Please select the answer that best describes your feeling about the following statements.

- I enjoy staying in a hotel when travelling for work: [Likert scale]
- I want to feel spoiled when staying in a hotel: [Likert scale]
- Staying in a **good** hotel is important for me to do my job: [Likert scale]

Relating to the previous question, could you explain what you perceive to be a **good** hotel?
[Textbox]

HOTELS AND SUSTAINABILITY ISSUES

Many hotels in London are asking their guests to be more sustainable and environmentally friendly.

Please select the answer that best describes your feeling about the following statements:

- I don't want to be told to be 'environmentally friendly' when staying in a hotel: [Likert scale]
- I believe hotels are asking the guest to be 'more environmentally friendly', just to save the hotel money: [Likert scale]
- Hotels provide enough information to its guests about their environmental policies: [Likert scale]
- I believe hotels use excessive amounts of water: [Likert scale]
- Hotels could do more to reduce their water consumption: [Likert scale]
- I believe hotels use excessive amounts of energy: [Likert scale]
- Hotels could do more to reduce their energy consumption: [Likert scale]
- I believe hotels produce excessive amounts of waste (incl. food waste): [Likert scale]
- Hotels could do more to reduce their waste production: [Likert scale]
- Hotels can expect guests to help them in reducing their waste, energy and water consumption: [Likert scale]
- London is an expensive city to live in, so hotels should pay their Employees more than the minimum wage: [Likert scale]

YOUR EMPLOYER

Does your employer have a travel policy with rules about travelling for work?

- ☐ Yes, I read it
- ☐ Yes, but I didn't read it
- ☐ Not sure, I didn't read it
- ☐ Probably not, I didn't read it
- ☐ No
- ☐ Absolutely no idea

Please select the answer that best describes your feeling about the following statements:

- Travelling is vital for me to be able to do my job: [Likert scale]
- I would like to travel less for my work: [Likert scale]
- My employer decides when I travel for work: [Likert scale]
- My employer (or hired travel agent) gives me a choice from a list of hotels where I can stay: [Likert scale]
- I would like more freedom to choose my own flights: [Likert scale]

- I would like more freedom to choose my own hotel/accommodation: [Likert scale]
- I believe my company's travel policy is too strict: [Likert scale]
- I always comply with my company's travel policy: [Likert scale]

SUSTAINABILITY AT WORK

Does your company have an environmental (i.e. sustainability) policy?

- ☐ Yes, I read it
- ☐ Yes, but I didn't read it
- ☐ Not sure, I didn't read it
- ☐ Probably not, I didn't read it
- ☐ No
- ☐ Absolutely no idea

Please select the answer that best describes your feeling about the following statements:

- It is important to me that my employer tries to minimise its impact on the environment: [Likert scale]
- I don't experience my employer's environmental policy in my day-to-day job: [Likert scale]
- I don't experience by employer's environmental policy when I'm travelling for work: [Likert scale]
- My employer's environmental efforts have an impact on my job satisfaction: [Likert scale]
- My employer's environmental efforts have made me more conscious of my impact on the environment: [Likert scale]

SUSTAINABILITY AT HOME

At home, do you do anything to minimise the impact you have on the environment?

- ☐ Yes, I believe I do more than the average person
- ☐ Yes, I believe I do as much as the average person
- ☐ Yes, but I believe I do less than the average person
- ☐ No
- ☐ Don't know

Could you give some examples of what you do? (You can give more than one answer):

- ☐ None
- ☐ Recycling
- ☐ Using energy-efficient appliances
- ☐ Turning off appliances and lights when not in use
- ☐ Consciously lowering the thermostat at night
- ☐ Installing water-saving equipment
- ☐ Consciously taking shorter showers
- ☐ Using reusable shopping bags
- ☐ Walking/cycling instead of using the car
- ☐ Using public transportation to avoid using car/taxi

- ☐ Avoid using the plane to get to holiday destinations
- ☐ Other, please specify: **[Textbox]**

When travelling for work, do you do anything to minimise the impact you have on the environment?

- ☐ Yes, I believe I do more than the average person
- ☐ Yes, I believe I do as much as the average person
- ☐ Yes, but I believe I do less than the average person
- ☐ No
- ☐ Don't know

Could you give some examples of what you do? (You can give more than one answer):

- ☐ None
- ☐ Effective travel planning, resulting in less travel
- ☐ Avoid travelling all together
- ☐ Using the train instead of the plane
- ☐ Choosing environmentally-friendly hotels
- ☐ Taking part in hotel initiatives (towel/linen reuse, recycling, etc.)
- ☐ Using public transportation to avoid using car/taxi
- ☐ Using teleconferencing to avoid travel
- ☐ Other, please specify: **[Textbox]**

Please select the answer that best describes your feeling about the following statements:

- I believe humans are the major contributor to climate change: **[Likert scale]**
- Climate change receives too much attention from the media: **[Likert scale]**
- In the greater scheme of things, my personal actions don't really make a difference to climate change: **[Likert scale]**
- I am only willing to change my behaviour if others do the same: **[Likert scale]**
- Changing my behaviour is too much of a hassle: **[Likert scale]**
- Travelling is part of my job, but I worry about the environmental impact it has: **[Likert scale]**
- Travelling is part of my job and I don't see any alternatives: **[Likert scale]**
- It is easier to consider the environment in my actions when at home, than when travelling: **[Likert scale]**

Would you like to explain any of your answers, or make any comments? **[Textbox]**

DEMOGRAPHICS

Finally, please provide some demographic data.

Gender:

- ☐ Male
- ☐ Female

Age range:

- ☐ Under 20
- ☐ 20-29
- ☐ 30-39
- ☐ 40-49

- ☐ 50-59
- ☐ 60-69
- ☐ 70 or over

Nationality: [Textbox]

Country of residence: [Textbox]

Marital status:

- ☐ Single
- ☐ Married/Civil partnership/Cohabiting
- ☐ Divorced
- ☐ Widowed

How long have you been employed with your current employer? (In years or months):
[Textbox]

Current salary range:

- ☐ £ 0 to £ 25,000
- ☐ £ 25,001 to £ 50,000
- ☐ £ 50,001 to £ 75,000
- ☐ £ 75,001 to £ 100,000
- ☐ £ 100,001 to £200,000
- ☐ £200,001 to £500,000
- ☐ £500,001 and over

For how many children, if any, do you have direct/shared care responsibility? [Textbox]

For how many adults, if any, do you have direct/shared care responsibility? [Textbox]

Highest level of education completed: [Textbox]

THANK YOU

This is the end of the questionnaire. Thank you very much for taking part, your help is greatly appreciated.

As an extra ‘thank you’, one respondent will receive a £50 Amazon voucher. The winner will be drawn on October 1, 2011. Do you want to be added to the prize draw and have a chance of winning the Amazon voucher?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

To double your chances, I would like to invite you to meet me for a coffee or virtually on Skype. I have **another £50 Amazon voucher** which will go to somebody who agrees to have a 45 minute interview with me, discussing the themes from this questionnaire a bit more in-depth. So if you live in or around London, we could meet up for a coffee somewhere (it's on me of course), or otherwise we can have a chat on Skype. The second prize draw will also be on October 1. Answer YES if you want to help me some more, and have a chance at winning that second voucher!

- ☐ Yes

☐ No

Please provide your e-mail address if you answered *YES* to one or both of the questions above: **[Textbox]**

APPENDIX F: CODING GUIDES

Interviews London hotel managers:

- Booking through agencies
- Business versus leisure traveller
- Cost (savings)
- Country/culture perception of sustainability
- Employee influence on policies
- Employee involvement in practices
- Employee training
- Feedback from guests/business on sustainability policies
- Generosity versus simplicity
- Geographical spread of guests
- Green accreditation
- Green economy
- Greenwashing
- Guests' power
- Guest demand of sustainability
- Guest/business response to sustainability policies
- Head office view and influence
- Industries that corporate clients work in
- Information provision to guests
- Interviewee's personal opinion of sustainability policies
- Locus of choice of individual business traveller
- Measures: chemicals
- Measures: energy
- Measures: food & beverage
- Measures: guest opportunities to help
- Measures: social policies
- Measures: waste/recycling
- Measures: water
- Motivation for sustainability policies
- Requests from guests/business about sustainability policies
- Sign up programmes
- Societal/governmental pressure on hotel
- Sustainability explained by interviewee
- Sustainable tourist

Interviews business travellers:

- Amount of travelling
- Behaviour in hotel for business
- Behaviour in hotel, leisure versus business
- Choice of hotel/flight
- Company's sustainability practices
- Company travel policies
- Criteria for choosing business hotel
- CSR for job satisfaction
- Decision-making about environmental behaviour
- Decision-making process of travels
- Environmental considerations when travelling
- Feelings about staying in hotel for business
- Feelings about travelling
- Future travel
- Generosity versus simplicity
- Guest empowerment
- Guilt
- Home-away behaviour
- Hotel's sustainability practices
- Hotel's wasteful environment
- Importance of travelling
- Job description
- Loyalty schemes
- Making consensus on environment
- Opinion of climate change
- Paying for hotel stay
- Personal impact on environment
- Personal sustainability practices
- Responsibility for the booking process
- Spending company money
- Time spent on location

Interviews with corporate travel managers:

- Compliance with travel rules
- Booking process
- Cost as a decision factor
- Criteria for choosing hotel
- Employee's freedom
- Government regulation
- Hotel star rating
- Importance of business travel
- List of hotels
- Policy communication
- Reducing travel for environment
- Seniority
- TM role in booking process
- Travel agency
- Travel rules
- Who influences the criteria for hotel selection

APPENDIX G: CODING EXCERPTS

Docs P21: ID 35.doc (28) Quotes 1:1 I: It is a good po Codes Amount of travellin: Memos 5 star hotel is status (1-Me) - Super

019 I: Alright cool. If you just think about, like when you travel right, how do you feel about staying in hotels and stuff like that? You said you're staying in 3 star and 4 star normally, how do you feel about that?

020 M: Well at the end of the day, it's a bed, I mean I think that there is, it's always really nice and relaxing to have, to come up to a hotel room, like the bed is all made and you can just kind of, like fall down onto it, and go to sleep. Because usually when you go on these trips too, I mean, you have a few drinks at night, because again that's part of the travel culture, you're going to meet up at the hotel bar and have a few drinks at night, and then you go to bed and I would always sort of choose a hotel room that I liked, so again when you're going down every week, you try a couple of different things, and you find one that works for whatever reason, and you keep going back to it, because you feel comfortable.

021 I: So you don't have, say something brands like Marriott or something, or Hilton, that you would always go to?

022 M: Uhh I would always go to Marriotts, but there is a whole lot of hotels who are in the Marriott brand, and maybe this is a US thing, I don't know, but there is, in any city that you go to, there will be a three, four, five different types of Marriott even, like within a 2 to 3 block radius, and so you can pick and choose between them all.

023 I: Yeah why do you pick the Marriott?

024 M: Honestly? Everybody was either Hilton or Marriott and the first hotel I stayed at for work was a Marriott, and I signed up for the loyalty plan and never switched.

025 I: So the loyalty scheme is quite important then?

026 M: Absolutely, it's key, it's key. Because when work is paying for your hotel, you still get the loyalty points.

027 I: Yeah, so you use them to go on holiday yourself?

028 M: Yeah, yeah. Absolutely, no the work doesn't get those, those are mine.

029 I: And so they're not strict on that or anything, I mean you can keep those? How for the rest, how strict is, like the travel policy, I guess there is a travel policy, I didn't actually check what you answered there, but...

030 M: Yeah there is, at both places I worked there has been a travel policy.

031 I: Yeah so let's just actually first go through, can you explain like a kind of a process of how that would go, like who decides where you travel, and when you travel, do you do that yourself, does your boss do that, and then how does that process go of booking the actual flight and hotel, and stuff like that?

032 M: So my boss usually decides when we go. The booking process, at both companies, it's more strict where I'm now than where I was, but at both of them, what you would do is you go through a travel agency, in both cases they use a company called Carlson Wagonlit, and what you do is you just call them up and say 'hey, this is where I'm going and this is what flight I'm going on', they come back with a couple of different options, they highlight which is the cheapest flight, because a lot of times the policy is you take the cheapest flight, and sometimes that means getting up an hour earlier, sometimes that means flying late at night, but it's still the cheapest flight, and they'll provide a couple of different hotel options, but at the end of it... it's interesting that they do actually, they will ask you, they say 'you prefer any of these particular hotel companies or airlines?', so you can choose, so I always say Air Canada because again I, I've got a little loyalty point system with them, and Marriott and they'll provide options that fit that, (...) so you can choose to a degree, but you are expected to choose the cheapest one.

033 I: Yeah, so is there a certain price class or something, like depending on your job, of what you can choose? Because obviously Marriott has 5 star, quite luxury, very expensive hotels, I'm not sure if you stay in those or if you stay in other ones from Marriott.

M: Let's see, again I think that they just wanna make sure, like when there will be an audit done on departments every now and then, just to make sure that

Feelings about staying in hotel for business

Loyalty schemes

Company travel policies

Choice of hotel/flight

Decision-making process of travels

Loyalty schemes

Responsibility for the booking process

Choice of hotel/flight

Spending company money

OCS P 2: ID 25.doc (31) Quotes 1:1 I: It is a good po Codes Amount of travellin Memos 5 star hotel is status (1-Me) - Super

70 I: So do you do anything at home? I didn't ask that... do you do anything at home, like environmentally friendly wise, like just being here, like as in London.

71 M: I have uhm... how do you call these, light saver switches, so when you leave a room, and you press the button, it switches off all the 'blinky bits'. Uhm... for lack of a better word. And, what's it called, we recycle basically, but uhh, which is pretty much the two standard things you can do. But beyond that, no. Uhm... I think my latest computer might be very unfriendly environmentally, it consumes crazy amounts of power, probably more than I need to, but on the other hand my job.

72 I: Yeah of course, that's actually an interesting thing you're saying: 'it's my job'. So, do you ever like feel that you need to, you want to for instance be more sustainable, but you cannot be because...

73 M: I do, I do... I mean, because of the demands of my job, I need a very fast computer. The fast computer comes with a power block which is 700 watt, as opposed to, say my previous one, which had half that. That is increased consumption, which well, just the chain of production means that I'm already consuming more, so you have that. And it is also more expensive for me, so those two ideas, I mean I'd rather, if there was a way I would like to reduce both the cost to myself and I'm aware that I am consuming more power, whereas I'm actually trying quite hard to consume less, so if you could find a way to do it, I would, but unfortunately due to the circumstances I find myself in, I don't.

74 I: Yeah, and the same thing counts for travel I guess, right?

75 M: Yeah

76 I: I mean, you need to travel for your, for your job.

77 M: Yeah, I mean, it curious, because I'm quite enthusiastic about the topics, I quite look forward to things like holographic presence and stuff, where you can have the sensation [disrupted], you can have the sensation of being in the same room with someone, uhh so you physically see them, like pretty much having the, the visual contact you would have with a normal person, uhm in 3D. That would be a great thing to have, but from a commercial perspective, we're quite a few years away from that happening, so until such point that this becomes a reality and it's actually realistic enough to replace a handshake, uhm...

78 I: So is that interesting to you because uhm that would save the environment, or is it interesting because it would save you a lot of travelling and time.

79 M: Both

80 I: Both, okay. So you do consider the environment?

81 M: I mean it would have a definite environmental impact, because you travel less, therefore you pollute less. It's uhm the fact that I have a bonus out of it is also great, I won't deny that, but I think certainly these technologies can be explored within the context of sustainability, that would be amazing to have that. But, I mean, there's other things as well where, hydroponic farms, and that sort of thing, where literally rather than importing vegetables and other things, you have uhm facilities within neighbourhoods that produce enough suitable vegetables for that neighbourhood. Those, I mean, those I think are great ideas to be explored further, and not least because of the convenience, but also because they are genuinely, well in principle at least, proven to be environmentally friendly, and the principle is there, if applied to other things, great. I mean, other things I think of would be, why do I need to travel every day to work, when I live in a certain area and I have maybe 5 or 6 colleagues who also live in that area, why not set up a smaller office in that area where we can all go to for a minor cost, walking or cycling. You still have the same amount of productivity, but not having to actually... you know, those things. So you do think about it, but to a larger point that the infrastructure for systems you work in, isn't set up for, for those benefits at the moment, so you have to kind of violate essentially the sustainability...

Personal sustainability practices
 Decision-making about environmental behaviour
 Environmental considerations when travelling
 Opinion on climate change
 Environmental considerations when travelling

APPENDIX H: CSR INFORMATION ON HOTEL WEBSITES

Summary (all figures are percentages)

(H = hotel; PC = parent company)		5-star (n=46)		4-star (n=99)		3-star (n=26)		Budget (n=25)		Total average	
		H	PC	H	PC	H	PC	H	PC	H	PC
All hotels	Environment	23.9	74.4	15.2	88.6	23.1	73.9	0	100	15.6	84.2
	Community	19.6	74.4	3	80.7	5.8	82.6	0	100	7.1	84.4
	Marketplace	15.2	66.7	5.1	87.5	11.5	73.9	0	100	8	82
	Workforce	13	71.8	7.1	87.5	5.8	73.9	0	100	6.5	83.3
	Total average	17.9	71.8	7.6	86.1	11.6	76.1	0	100	9.3	83.5
Top 10 ⁵⁷	Environment	21.4	100	16.3	100	27.3	100	0	100	16.3	100
	Community	21.4	100	0	100	0	100	0	100	5.4	100
	Marketplace	14.3	100	0	100	0	100	0	100	3.6	100
	Workforce	14.3	100	2	100	0	100	0	100	4.1	100
	Total average	17.9	100	4.6	100	6.8	100	0	100	7.3	100
Non-top 10	Environment	25	60	14	72.5	20	54.5	0	100	14.8	71.8
	Community	18.8	60	6	55	6.7	72.7	0	100	7.9	72
	Marketplace	15.6	48	10	70	20	54.5	0	100	11.4	68.1
	Workforce	12.5	56	12	70	6.7	54.5	0	100	7.8	70.1
	Total average	18	56	10.5	66.9	13.4	59.1	0	100	10.5	70.5

⁵⁷ Hotels highlighted blue are part of the ten largest hotel companies in the world in 2010 (see Table 5.1).

5-STAR HOTELS

Hotel name	Environment	Community	Marketplace	Workforce	Hotel chain	Environment	Community	Marketplace	Workforce
51 Buckingham Gate					Taj Hotels Resorts and Palaces	✓	✓	✓	✓
Andaz Liverpool Street					Hyatt Hotels and Resorts	✓	✓	✓	✓
Athenaeum Hotel and Apartments					-				
Bentley Kempinski, The					Hilton Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Berkeley, The					Maybourne Hotel Group				
Brown's Hotel					The Rocco Forte Collection				
Capital, The					The Capital Group				
Claridge's					Maybourne Hotel Group				
Connaught Hotel, The					Maybourne Hotel Group				
Dorchester, The	✓	✓		✓	Dorchester Collection	✓	✓	✓	✓
Draycott Hotel	✓	✓			Mantis Group	✓	✓		
Dukes Hotel	✓		✓		-				
Egerton House, The					Red Carnation Hotel Collection	✓	✓	✓	✓
Four Seasons Hotel Canary Wharf					Four Seasons Hotels and Resorts	✓	✓	✓	✓
Goring, The					-				
Grange City Hotel					Grange Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Grosvenor House					Marriott International	✓	✓	✓	✓
Halkin, The					The Como Group	✓	✓		✓
Hyatt Regency London – The Churchill					Hyatt Hotels and Resorts	✓	✓	✓	✓
InterContinental Park Lane					Intercontinental Hotel Group	✓	✓	✓	✓
Jumeirah Carlton Tower					Jumeirah Group	✓	✓	✓	✓

Landmark London, The	✓	✓	✓	✓	-				
Langham, The	✓	✓	✓		Langham Hospitality Group	✓	✓	✓	✓
London Marriot Hotel County Hall					Marriott International	✓	✓	✓	✓
London Marriot Hotel Park Lane					Marriott International	✓	✓	✓	✓
London Marriot West India Quay					Marriott International	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mandarin Oriental Hyde Park					Mandarin Oriental Hotels				
May Fair Hotel, The	✓	✓	✓	✓	Radisson Edwardian Hotels - Carlson	✓	✓	✓	✓
Metropolitan, The	✓				The Como Group	✓	✓		✓
Milestone Hotel, The					Red Carnation Hotel Collection	✓	✓	✓	✓
No. 41					Red Carnation Hotel Collection	✓	✓	✓	✓
One Aldwych	✓	✓	✓	✓	-				
Plaza on the River – Club & Residence					Park Plaza Hotels – Carlson	✓	✓	✓	✓
Radisson Edwardian Hampshire Hotel	✓				Radisson Edwardian Hotels – Carlson	✓	✓	✓	✓
(Renaissance) ⁵⁸ Chancery Court London					-				
Ritz Hotel, The					Ritz-Carlton Hotel Company	✓	✓	✓	✓
Royal Garden Hotel	✓	✓	✓	✓	Goodwood Group				
Royal Horseguards, The					Guoman Thistle	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sheraton Park Tower					Starwood Hotels and Resorts	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sofitel St. James		✓			Accor Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
St James's Hotel and Club					Althoff Hotel Collection				
Stafford Hotel					Kempinski Hotels				
Swissotel The Howard, London					Swissotel Hotels and Resorts	✓	✓	✓	✓
Threadneedles – The City's Boutique					The Eton Collection				
Westbury, The					-				

⁵⁸ When lists were generated in 2010, Chancery Court London was owned by the Renaissance brand of Marriott International. This relationship was discontinued in 2011.

Wyndham Grand London Chelsea Harbour	✓	✓	✓	✓	Wyndham Hotels and Resorts	✓	✓	✓	✓
TOTAL (46 hotels)	11	9	7	6	TOTAL (39 hotels)	29	29	26	28
Top 10 hotels (14)	3	3	2	2	(14)	14	14	14	14
Non-top 10 hotels (32)	8	6	5	4	(25)	15	15	12	14

4-STAR HOTELS

Hotel name	Environment	Community	Marketplace	Workforce	Hotel chain	Environment	Community	Marketplace	Workforce
Academy, The					The Eton Collection				
Apex City of London					Apex Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Beauchamp, The					Grange Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Beaufort, The					-				
Buckingham, The					Grange Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Cadogan Hotel, The					-				
Caesar Hotel, The					Derby Hotels Collection				
Cavendish, The	✓		✓	✓	-				
Chamberlain Hotel, The					Fuller's Hotels				
Charing Cross – a Guoman Hotel					Guoman Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Chesterfield Mayfair, The					Red Carnation Hotel Collection	✓	✓	✓	✓
City Inn Westminster (now: DoubleTree by Hilton Hotel London – Westminster)					Hilton Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Clarendon, The					Grange Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Colonnade, The – The Little Venice					The Eton Collection				
Copthorne Tara Hotel London					Millennium Hotels and Resorts	✓		✓	✓
Cranley Hotel, The					Franklyn Hotels and Resorts				
Crowne Plaza Hotel London – Shoreditch					International Hotel Group	✓	✓	✓	✓
Crowne Plaza London – Kensington					International Hotel Group	✓	✓	✓	✓
Crowne Plaza London – The City					International Hotel Group	✓	✓	✓	✓
Crowne Plaza London St James					International Hotel Group	✓	✓	✓	✓

Cumberland, The – a Guoman Hotel					Guoman Thistle	✓	✓	✓	✓
Danubius Hotel Regents Park	✓				Danubius Hotels Group				
Dorset Square Hotel, The (closed)									
Durley House					-				
Grange Fitzrovia Hotel					Grange Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Grange Holborn Hotel					Grange Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Grange Langham Court Hotel					Grange Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Grange Rochester Hotel					Grange Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Grange White Hall Hotel					Grange Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
H10 London Waterloo Hotel					H10 Hotels				
Harrington Hall					NH Hoteles	✓	✓	✓	✓
Hilton London Canary Wharf					Hilton Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Hilton London Docklands Riverside					Hilton Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Hilton London Euston					Hilton Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Hilton London Green Park					Hilton Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Hilton London Hyde Park					Hilton Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Hilton London Islington					Hilton Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Hilton London Kensington					Hilton Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Hilton London Metropole					Hilton Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Hilton London Olympia					Hilton Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Hilton London Paddington					Hilton Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Hilton London Tower Bridge					Hilton Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Holiday Inn London – King's					International Hotel Group	✓	✓	✓	✓
Holiday Inn London – Mayfair					International Hotel Group	✓	✓	✓	✓
Holiday Inn London – Regent's Park					International Hotel Group	✓	✓	✓	✓

Hotel Indigo					Intercontinental Hotel Group	✓	✓	✓	✓
Hotel Russell					Principal Hayley Hotels	✓			
K-West	✓	✓	✓	✓	-				
Levin, The					The Capital Group				
London Bridge Hotel	✓		✓	✓	-				
London Hilton on Park Lane					Hilton Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
London Marriott Hotel Grosvenor Square					Marriott International	✓	✓	✓	✓
London Marriott Hotel Kensington					Marriott International	✓	✓	✓	✓
London Marriott Hotel Maida Vale					Marriott International	✓	✓	✓	✓
London Marriott Hotel Marble Arch					Marriott International	✓	✓	✓	✓
London Marriott Hotel Regents Park					Marriott International	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mandeville Hotel, The	✓			✓	Summit Hotels and Resorts				
Melia White House					Sol Meliá	✓	✓	✓	✓
Mercure London City Bankside					Accor Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Millennium & Copthorne Hotels at Chelsea Football Club					Millenium Hotels and Resorts	✓		✓	✓
Millennium Bailey's Hotel London					Millenium Hotels and Resorts	✓		✓	✓
Millennium Gloucester Hotel London					Millenium Hotels and Resorts	✓		✓	✓
Millennium Hotel London Knightsbridge					Millenium Hotels and Resorts	✓		✓	✓
Millennium Hotel London Mayfair					Millenium Hotels and Resorts	✓		✓	✓
Montague on the Gardens, The					Red Carnation Hotel Collection	✓	✓	✓	✓
Novotel London City South					Accor Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Novotel London St Pancras					Accor Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Novotel London Paddington					Accor Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Novotel London Tower Bridge					Accor Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Novotel London Waterloo					Accor Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓

Novotel London West					Accor Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Park Plaza County Hall					Park Plaza Hotels – Carlson	✓	✓	✓	✓
Portland, The					Grange Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Radisson Edwardian Berkshire Hotel	✓				Radisson Edwardian Hotels - Carlson	✓	✓	✓	✓
Radisson Edwardian Grafton Hotel	✓				Radisson Edwardian Hotels – Carlson	✓	✓	✓	✓
Radisson Edwardian Kenilworth Hotel	✓				Radisson Edwardian Hotels – Carlson	✓	✓	✓	✓
Radisson Edwardian Leicester Square	✓				Radisson Edwardian Hotels – Carlson	✓	✓	✓	✓
Radisson Edwardian Marlborough (now Bloomsbury Street)	✓				Radisson Edwardian Hotels – Carlson	✓	✓	✓	✓
Radisson Edwardian Mountbatten (now Mercer Street)					Radisson Edwardian Hotels – Carlson	✓	✓	✓	✓
Radisson Edwardian Providence Wharf	✓				Radisson Edwardian Hotels – Carlson	✓	✓	✓	✓
Radisson Edwardian Vanderbilt Hotel	✓				Radisson Edwardian Hotels – Carlson	✓	✓	✓	✓
Radisson Blu Portman	✓			✓	Radisson Blu Hotels – Carlson	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ramada London Hyde Park					Ramada Jarvis Hotels – Wyndham	✓	✓	✓	✓
Riverbank Park Plaza					Park Plaza Hotels – Carlson	✓	✓	✓	✓
Royal Lancaster Hotel	✓	✓	✓	✓	Summit Hotels and Resorts				
Royal Park Hotel		✓			-				
Rubens at the Palace, The					Red Carnation Hotel Collection	✓	✓	✓	✓
Sherlock Holmes Hotel					Park Plaza Hotels – Carlson	✓	✓	✓	✓
Thistle Bloomsbury					Guoman Thistle	✓	✓	✓	✓
Thistle Euston					Guoman Thistle	✓	✓	✓	✓
Thistle Hyde Park					Guoman Thistle	✓	✓	✓	✓
Thistle Marble Arch					Guoman Thistle	✓	✓	✓	✓
Thistle Westminster					Guoman Thistle	✓	✓	✓	✓
Tower, The – a Guoman Hotel					Guoman Thistle	✓	✓	✓	✓
Trafalgar, The					Hilton Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓

Twenty Nevern Square					-				
Victoria Park Plaza					Park Plaza Hotels – Carlson	✓	✓	✓	✓
Waldorf Hilton, The					Hilton Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Washington Mayfair Hotel, The					-				
Zetter Hotel, The	✓		✓	✓	-				
TOTAL (99 hotels)	15	3	5	7	TOTAL (89 hotels)	78	71	77	77
Top 10 (49)	8	0	0	1	(49)	49	49	49	49
Non-top 10 (50)	7	3	5	6	(40)	29	22	28	28

3-STAR HOTELS

Hotel name	Environment	Community	Marketplace	Workforce	Hotel chain	Environment	Community	Marketplace	Workforce
Bedford Hotel					Imperial London Hotels				
Bermondsey Square Hotel, The					Bespoke Hotels		✓		
Best Western Burns Hotel					Best Western Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
(Best Western) Lodge Hotel (taken over by Bespoke)					Bespoke Hotels		✓		
Best Western Mostyn Hotel	✓				Best Western Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Best Western Phoenix Hotel					Best Western Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Best Western Swiss Cottage Hotel					Best Western Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Best Western The Cromwell	✓				Best Western Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Days Hotel London – Shoreditch					Wyndham Hotels and Resorts	✓	✓	✓	✓
Enterprise Hotel					-				
Grange Blooms Town House Hotel					Grange Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Grange Strathmore Hotel, The					Grange Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Holiday Inn London – Oxford Circus					Intercontinental Hotel Group	✓	✓	✓	✓
Holiday Inn London Bloomsbury					Intercontinental Hotel Group	✓	✓	✓	✓
Hotel Ibis London Earls Court					Accor Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
K + K Hotel George	✓		✓		K + K Hotels				
London Lodge Hotel	✓	✓	✓		-				
Malmaison Charterhouse Square					Malmaison	✓	✓	✓	✓
Park Inn, Hyde Park (now Lancaster Gate hotel)					-				
Radisson Edwardian Sussex Hotel	✓				Radisson Edwardian Hotels – Carlson	✓	✓	✓	✓
Strand Palace Hotel	✓		✓	✓	-				

Thistle City Barbican					Guoman Thistle	✓	✓	✓	✓
Thistle Piccadilly					Guoman Thistle	✓	✓	✓	✓
Thistle Trafalgar Square					Guoman Thistle	✓	✓	✓	✓
Umi Hotel London					Umi Hotels				
Waverley House Hotel (now Mercure London Bloomsbury)					Accor Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
TOTAL (26 hotels)	6	1	3	1	TOTAL (22 hotels)	17	19	17	17
Top 10 (11)	3	0	0	0	(11)	11	11	11	11
Non-top 10 (15)	3	1	3	1	(11)	6	8	6	6

BUDGET HOTELS

Hotel name	Environment	Community	Marketplace	Workforce	Hotel chain	Environment	Community	Marketplace	Workforce
Days Hotel London Hyde Park					Wyndham Hotels and Resorts	✓	✓	✓	✓
Days Hotel Waterloo					Wyndham Hotels and Resorts	✓	✓	✓	✓
Days Inn – Westminster					Wyndham Hotels and Resorts	✓	✓	✓	✓
Express by Holiday Inn London – Earl's Court					Intercontinental Hotel Group	✓	✓	✓	✓
Express by Holiday Inn London – Hammersmith					Intercontinental Hotel Group	✓	✓	✓	✓
Express by Holiday Inn London – Limehouse					Intercontinental Hotel Group	✓	✓	✓	✓
Express by Holiday Inn London – Swiss Cottage					Intercontinental Hotel Group	✓	✓	✓	✓
Express by Holiday Inn London – City					Intercontinental Hotel Group	✓	✓	✓	✓
Express by Holiday Inn London – Victoria					Intercontinental Hotel Group	✓	✓	✓	✓
Express by Holiday Inn London – Wandsworth					Intercontinental Hotel Group	✓	✓	✓	✓
Express by Holiday Inn – Southwark					Intercontinental Hotel Group	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ibis London City					Accor Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Ibis London Euston					Accor Hotels	✓	✓	✓	✓
Premier Inn London City (Tower Hill)					Whitbread	✓	✓	✓	✓
Premier Inn London County Hall					Whitbread	✓	✓	✓	✓
Premier Inn London Euston					Whitbread	✓	✓	✓	✓
Premier Inn London Hammersmith					Whitbread	✓	✓	✓	✓
Premier Inn London Hampstead					Whitbread	✓	✓	✓	✓
Premier Inn London Kensington					Whitbread	✓	✓	✓	✓
Premier Inn London Kensington (Olympia)					Whitbread	✓	✓	✓	✓
Premier Inn London Kings Cross St Pancras					Whitbread	✓	✓	✓	✓

Premier Inn London Putney Bridge					Whitbread	✓	✓	✓	✓
Premier Inn London Southwark					Whitbread	✓	✓	✓	✓
Premier Inn London Tower Bridge					Whitbread	✓	✓	✓	✓
Premier Inn London Victoria					Whitbread	✓	✓	✓	✓
TOTAL (25 hotels)	0	0	0	0	TOTAL (25 hotels)	25	25	25	25
Top 10 (13)	0	0	0	0	(13)	13	13	13	13
Non-top 10 (12)	0	0	0	0	(12)	12	12	12	12

APPENDIX I: ENVIRONMENTAL CERTIFICATIONS ON HOTEL WEBSITES

All data about certifications is taken from the websites of the following certification schemes: Green Tourism Business Scheme (n.d.), Considerate Hoteliers (n.d.), EarthCheck (n.d.), and Sustainable Restaurant Association (SRA) (n.d.). The data is correct as per March 7, 2012. In the tables, a green check or letter means that there is a logo present on the hotel website. An orange check or letter means that there is written information about the certification on the website, but no logo is present. A black check or letter means that the hotel has a certification, but no information is present. The meaning of the letters is as follows: G = gold award; S = silver award; B = bronze award; A = audited, but awaiting award.

Summary

		GTBS	CH	EC	SRA	Total
5* hotels	No. of certifications awarded	18	25	1	4	48
	Hotel websites showing logo of certification scheme	4	2	1	0	7
	Websites providing written info about certification scheme	2	2	0	0	4
	Websites without any info about certification	12	21	0	4	37
4* hotels	No. of certifications awarded	27	18	7	11	63
	Hotel websites showing logo of certification scheme	11	2	0	2	15
	Websites providing written info about certification scheme	1	1	0	0	2
	Websites without any info about certification	15	15	7	9	46
3* hotels	No. of certifications awarded	8	4	0	0	12
	Hotel websites showing logo of certification scheme	3	1	-	-	4
	Websites providing written info about certification scheme	2	0	-	-	2
	Websites without any info about certification	3	3	-	-	6
Budget hotels	No. of certifications awarded	2	0	0	0	2
	Hotel websites showing logo of certification scheme	0	-	-	-	0
	Websites providing written info about certification scheme	0	-	-	-	0
	Websites without any info about certification	2	-	-	-	2

Name 5* hotel	Green Tourism Business Scheme	Considerate Hoteliers	EarthCheck	Sustainable Restaurant Association	TOTAL
51 Buckingham Gate		✓			1
Andaz Liverpool Street ⁵⁹					0
Athenaeum Hotel and Apartments					0
Bentley Kempinski, The					0
Berkeley, The		✓			1
Brown's Hotel		✓			1
Capital, The					0
Claridge's	S	✓			2
Connaught Hotel, The	B	✓			2
Dorchester, The		✓			1
Draycott Hotel	S	✓			2
Dukes Hotel		✓			1
Egerton House, The		✓		1	2
Four Seasons Hotel Canary Wharf	B				1
Goring, The		✓			1
Grange City Hotel					0
Grosvenor House	S				1
Halkin, The	B	✓			2
Hyatt Regency London – The Churchill					0
InterContinental Park Lane	S	✓			2
Jumeirah Carlton Tower		✓			1
Landmark London, The	G	✓			2
Langham, The	S	✓	S		3
London Marriot Hotel County Hall	B				1
London Marriot Hotel Park Lane					0
London Marriot West India Quay	S				1
Mandarin Oriental Hyde Park	S	✓			2
May Fair Hotel, The	G			1	1
Metropolitan, The	S	✓			2
Milestone Hotel, The		✓			1
No. 41		✓		1	2
One Aldwych	G	✓			2
Plaza on the River – Club & Residence	A	✓			2
Radisson Edwardian Hampshire Hotel	S			1	2
(Renaissance) Chancery Court London					0
Ritz Hotel, The		✓			1
Royal Garden Hotel					0
Royal Horseguards, The		✓			1
Sheraton Park Tower	B				1
Sofitel St. James					0
St James's Hotel and Club					0

⁵⁹ Hotels highlighted blue are part of the ten largest hotel companies in the world in 2010 (see Table 5.1).

Stafford Hotel		✓			1
Swissotel The Howard, London					0
Threadneedles – The City’s Boutique		✓			1
Westbury, The					0
Wyndham Grand London Chelsea Harbour					0
TOTAL (46 hotels)	18	25	1	4	

Name 4* hotel	Green Tourism Business Scheme	Considerate Hoteliers	EarthCheck	Sustainable Restaurant Association	TOTAL
Academy, The					0
Apex City of London					0
Beauchamp, The					0
Beaufort, The					0
Buckingham, The					0
Cadogan Hotel, The					0
Caesar Hotel, The					0
Cavendish, The	G	✓		3	3
Chamberlain Hotel, The					0
Charing Cross – a Guoman Hotel		✓			1
Chesterfield Mayfair, The		✓		1	2
City Inn Westminster (now: DoubleTree by Hilton Hotel London –Westminster)				2	1
Clarendon, The					0
Colonnade, The – The Little Venice		✓			1
Copthorne Tara Hotel London					0
Cranley Hotel, The					0
Crowne Plaza Hotel London – Shoreditch					0
Crowne Plaza London – Kensington					0
Crowne Plaza London – The City	B	✓			2
Crowne Plaza London St James		✓	S		2
Cumberland, The – a Guoman Hotel		✓			1
Danubius Hotel Regents Park	B				1
Dorset Square Hotel, The (closed)					-
Durley House					0
Grange Fitzrovia Hotel					0
Grange Holborn Hotel					0
Grange Langham Court Hotel					0
Grange Rochester Hotel					0
Grange White Hall Hotel					0
H10 London Waterloo Hotel					0
Harrington Hall					0
Hilton London Canary Wharf					0
Hilton London Docklands Riverside					0
Hilton London Euston					0
Hilton London Green Park					0
Hilton London Hyde Park					0
Hilton London Islington					0
Hilton London Kensington					0
Hilton London Metropole					0
Hilton London Olympia					0
Hilton London Paddington					0
Hilton London Tower Bridge					0

Holiday Inn London – King’s					0
Holiday Inn London – Mayfair					0
Holiday Inn London – Regent’s Park					0
Hotel Indigo					0
Hotel Russell	A				1
K-West	S	✓			2
Levin, The					0
London Bridge Hotel					0
London Hilton on Park Lane	S				1
London Marriott Hotel Grosvenor Square	S				1
London Marriott Hotel Kensington	S				1
London Marriott Hotel Maida Vale					0
London Marriott Hotel Marble Arch	G				1
London Marriott Hotel Regents Park					0
Mandeville Hotel, The					0
Melia White House					0
Mercure London City Bankside					0
Millennium & Copthorne Hotels at Chelsea Football Club					0
Millennium Bailey’s Hotel London	S				1
Millennium Gloucester Hotel London	S				1
Millennium Hotel London Knightsbridge					0
Millennium Hotel London Mayfair					0
Montague on the Gardens, The		✓		1	2
Novotel London City South			S		1
Novotel London St Pancras			S		1
Novotel London Paddington			S		1
Novotel London Tower Bridge			S		1
Novotel London Waterloo			S		1
Novotel London West			S		1
Park Plaza County Hall	G	✓			2
Portland, The					0
Radisson Edwardian Berkshire Hotel	S				1
Radisson Edwardian Grafton Hotel	S			1	2
Radisson Edwardian Kenilworth Hotel	S			1	2
Radisson Edwardian Leicester Square	S	✓		1	3
Radisson Edwardian Marlborough (now Bloomsbury Street)	S				1
Radisson Edwardian Mountbatten (now Mercer Street)	S				1
Radisson Edwardian Providence Wharf	G			1	2
Radisson Edwardian Vanderbilt Hotel	S			1	2
Radisson Blu Portman	G	✓			2
Ramada London Hyde Park	S				1
Riverbank Park Plaza	A	✓			2
Royal Lancaster Hotel	G	✓			2
Royal Park Hotel					0
Rubens at the Palace, The		✓		1	2
Sherlock Holmes Hotel	A				1
Thistle Bloomsbury					0
Thistle Euston					0
Thistle Hyde Park					0
Thistle Marble Arch		✓			1
Thistle Westminster					0
Tower, The – a Guoman Hotel		✓			1

Trafalgar, The					0
Twenty Nevern Square					0
Victoria Park Plaza	B				1
Waldorf Hilton, The					0
Washington Mayfair Hotel, The					0
Zetter Hotel, The	G	✓		2	3
TOTAL (99 hotels)	27	18	7	11	

Name 3* hotel	Green Tourism Business Scheme	Considerate Hoteliers	EarthCheck	Sustainable Restaurant Association	TOTAL
Bedford Hotel					0
Bermondsey Square Hotel, The		✓			1
Best Western Burns Hotel	B				1
(Best Western) Lodge Hotel (taken over by Bespoke)					0
Best Western Mostyn Hotel	B				1
Best Western Phoenix Hotel					0
Best Western Swiss Cottage Hotel					0
Best Western The Cromwell	B	✓			2
Days Hotel London – Shoreditch					0
Enterprise Hotel					0
Grange Blooms Town House Hotel					0
Grange Strathmore Hotel, The					0
Holiday Inn London – Oxford Circus					0
Holiday Inn London Bloomsbury					0
Hotel Ibis London Earls Court					0
K + K Hotel George	B				1
London Lodge Hotel					0
Malmaison Charterhouse Square					0
Park Inn, Hyde Park (now Lancaster Gate hotel)	B				1
Radisson Edwardian Sussex Hotel	S				1
Strand Palace Hotel	G	✓			2
Thistle City Barbican					0
Thistle Piccadilly					0
Thistle Trafalgar Square					0
Umi Hotel London	B	✓			2
Waverley House Hotel (now Mercure London Bloomsbury)					0
TOTAL (26 Hotels)	8	4	0	0	

Name budget hotel	Green Tourism Business Scheme	Considerate Hoteliers	EarthCheck	Sustainable Restaurant Association	TOTAL
Days Hotel London Hyde Park					0
Days Hotel Waterloo	B				1
Days Inn – Westminster					0
Express by Holiday Inn London – Earl’s Court					0
Express by Holiday Inn London – Hammersmith					0
Express by Holiday Inn London – Limehouse					0
Express by Holiday Inn London – Swiss Cottage					0
Express by Holiday Inn London – City					0
Express by Holiday Inn London – Victoria					0
Express by Holiday Inn London – Wandsworth	S				1
Express by Holiday Inn – Southwark					0
Ibis London City					0
Ibis London Euston					0
Premier Inn London City (Tower Hill)					0
Premier Inn London County Hall					0
Premier Inn London Euston					0
Premier Inn London Hammersmith					0
Premier Inn London Hampstead					0
Premier Inn London Kensington					0
Premier Inn London Kensington (Olympia)					0
Premier Inn London Kings Cross St Pancras					0
Premier Inn London Putney Bridge					0
Premier Inn London Southwark					0
Premier Inn London Tower Bridge					0
Premier Inn London Victoria					0
TOTAL (25 hotels)	2	0	0	0	